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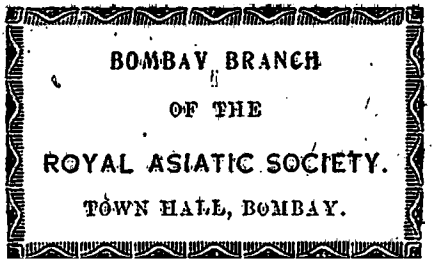

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THE PRINCIPLES
OF
POPULATION.

" Increase and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it."—
GEN. i. 28.

" Thou shalt do justice and love mercy."—MATTHEW.

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THE

PRINCIPLES OF POPULATION

AND THEIR CONNECTION WITH

HUMAN HAPPINESS.

BY.

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26962

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ON THE PRINCIPLES OF

POPULATION,

AND THEIR CONNECTION WITH HUMAN HAPPINESS.

CHAPTER X.

ON THE ACQUISITION OF LANDED PROPERTY BY THE POOR.

ARGUMENT.

Important effects of the acquisition of Landed Property on the character of the Poor—in reclaiming them from wandering and predatory habits—in fostering habits of Industry—and developing the limitations to Population—Examples of its beneficial effects—From England—From France—Switzerland—Flanders and Holland—Norway and Sweden—Italy—Spain and Portugal—Opposite effects in Hindostan and China, and Ireland—Contrast of effects of this system in Free and Despotic States—Effects of division of land in diminishing Poor's Rates—Bad effects of an undue accumulation of property in some members of society, and distribution in others—Mode in which this distribution should be permitted to arise—Primogeniture is indispensable—Extravagant expenditure of the rich landholders is the provision for effecting this distribution—Impolicy and ruinous effect of Entails—of expensive system of conveyance of land-rights—and process of law for attaching land—Ruinous effect of the violent seizure of land by Revolutionary Force—Its necessary tendency to induce oriental despotism, as now exemplified in modern France since the Revolution.

THE division and appropriation of land have always been regarded as most important steps in the progress of society: but their influence on the character and habits of the people among whom it takes place, has

hardly been sufficiently attended to. It is in tracing these effects, however, that we will best discern their influence upon the principles of population, and the permanent causes of human happiness or misery.

The great characteristics of savage life, and the greatest obstacles to human improvement and happiness, in the early periods of society, are the indolence and improvidence which, under such circumstances, are found universally to prevail. The first of these prevents those vigorous efforts in cultivation, and that strenuous and unremitting labour which is the destiny of man in every situation, but is more peculiarly necessary in the first periods of his history, before government has assumed a settled form, and when he is compelled to struggle with many physical difficulties, which the extension of knowledge, and the increase of his species, enables him in later times to overcome. The second disregards the future, for the enjoyment of the present moment; prevents the acquisition of general views for the conduct of life; consumes in a short time the funds which should be destined for future emergencies; and brings on the production of a population without either any adequate means for its present maintenance, or any habits of industry for its future support. Mr Hume has said, "that almost all the misfortunes of the people are to be ascribed to idleness:" if he had said to idleness and improvidence, his enumeration would have been complete.

There is, in fact, so great an aversion to labour in uncivilized man, and so great an affection for a listless, indolent habit of life, that nothing but some strong and predominant feeling is able to overcome it:

something which can create new desires in the human breast, and give a permanent direction to that energy which is then only occasionally developed. The impressions of the present moment also are so strong, and the habit of attending to the future so utterly unknown to unenlightened man, that nothing but the formation of new habits, and the acquisition of a durable object in life, is adequate to correct this strong propensity, and enable him to sacrifice the gratification of existence at the instant from a view to his ultimate advantage.

This change in the human character, by far the most important which occurs in the history of his species, the *division and appropriation of land,* is mainly instrumental in producing. It is this, and this only, which can overcome the habitual indolence which characterizes the savage and pastoral state; which can induce men to submit to the fatigue and the restraint insuperable from agricultural labour; which is able to check the wandering disposition which has been nursed amid the freedom of their steppes and forests; and which can confine their views and their wishes to one spot, and the steady prosecution of one employment. It is this, in another view, which, by accustoming them to continued labour, and a certain return for it, induces them to look into the future; which shows them the effect which their exertions must of necessity have upon their happiness; which induces habits of privation and self-control, from a view to ultimate enjoyment; and developes the faculties of prudence, foresight, and frugality, which had hitherto lain dormant in the human breast. It is this, in short, which unfolds new desires

and propensities in the mind of man, capable of overcoming those to which he is originally subjected; which engenders those habits and views which lay the foundation of the progress of society, and converts the indolent inhabitant of the forest or the desert into the laborious assistant of cultivated Nature. Rousseau has said, that he who first enclosed a field and called it his own, has to answer for all the misery which has ensued in society. He would have been nearer the truth had he said, that he had laid the foundation of the greatest improvement and happiness which man is capable of receiving.

As the appropriation of land was destined to produce such important changes in the state of society, and in the habits and manners of mankind in general, a provision was made for it in some of the most powerful feelings of which our nature is susceptible. The desire of acquiring property in the soil, the attachment to a home, and the love of the place of their nativity, are among the strongest feelings of the human breast, and which, in the progress of society, are the first to be developed. In every part of the world where agricultural labour has been commenced, these dispositions are found to exist. Mr Young tells us, that in France the attachment to landed property is so strong among the lower orders, that the inheritance of their fathers is religiously preserved, and made the object of unceasing affection, though it sometimes consists only of a single tree. * "The universal object of ambition in the French peasantry," says the Baron de Stael, "is to become proprietor of a little piece of ground, or to add to that which they have

* Travels in France, i. 496.

received from their parents. This desire is of very ancient date, and the only effect of the Revolution was to confirm this tendency, by furnishing them with more extensive means of gratifying it. They generally purchase inconsiderately in this respect, that they give more than the land is worth: counting their labour for nothing, as it forms the universal condition of their existence."* Land in Ceylon is so much subdivided, and tenaciously held, that an inheritance sometimes consists only of the $\frac{1}{1024}$th of a single tree.† The same principle is mentioned by Mr Park, as influencing, in the strongest manner, the African negroes. "This desire is felt," says he, "in its full force by the poor African. To him no water is sweet but that which is drawn from his own well; and no shade refreshing but the tabbe tree of his native dwelling. When he is carried into captivity by a neighbouring tribe, he never ceases to languish during his exile, seizes the first moment to escape, rebuilds with haste his fallen walls, and exults to see the smoke ascend from his native village."‡ Nor are the Hindoos less strongly influenced by the same attachment. Considering, as they invariably do, their little possessions as their own property, which it clearly is, according to the general custom of the east, they cannot by any amount of misfortune be torn away from the village of their nativity. "Their villages are, indeed, frequently burned or destroyed by hostile forces, the little community dispersed, and its land returned to a state of Nature; but when better times return, and the means of peaceable occupation are again restored, the remnant reassemble with their

* Baron de Stael, 87. † Heber, iii. 197. ‡ Travels in Africa, i. 247.

children in the paternal inheritance. A generation may pass away, but the succeeding generation returns; the sons take the place of their fathers; the same trades and occupations are filled by the descendants of the same individuals; the same division of land takes place; the very houses are rebuilt on the site of those which had been destroyed; and, emerging from the storm, the community revives another and the same." *

The influence of the habits which the appropriation of land produces, appears nowhere so strongly as in its effect upon the character of the female sex. In all savage countries, the situation of women is debased in the extreme; and the effect of the hardships and sufferings which they undergo, is such as almost to obliterate the finest traits of the female character. The acquisition of a home, of a fixed residence, and of a permanent object, not only relieves them from many of the most severe employments to which they were formerly subjected, but gives room to the developement of those gentle qualities and domestic dispositions, for which they are peculiarly fitted by the wisdom of Nature. And while it thus produces a change of the most important kind in the character of women, it accustoms men to those habits of order and assiduity, and that love of domestic happiness, which are best calculated to increase their respect and affection for the other sex. Women in this way come to hold the situation destined for them in the economy of Nature: the gentleness of their disposition is in some degree imparted to the young of the rising generation; and more peaceable habits are diffused

* Commons' Committee, 1832, p. 29; Lords', 1832, 398, 391, & 405.

through all ranks of society. The Hottentots, accordingly, are represented by Mr Park, and all the travellers in Africa,* as gentle and humane in the highest degree; and the humanity of a negro woman is the subject of a well known and popular song; while the Moors, who lead a wandering and unsettled life, are brutal, rapacious, and cruel; and even the characteristic gentleness of women seems among them to be in a great measure effaced.

In every part of the world, accordingly, the first step to improvement, and the first impulse to human exertion, has arisen from the appropriation of landed property. "No period, in the civilisation of a people, is so important," says Mr Tooke, "as the transition from the pastoral life to agriculture: it is this which forms the boundary between civilized and barbarous nature: and of the importance of this the Russian empire affords continual experience. Industry there uniformly begins in the pastoral countries with the division of land, and the commencement of agriculture."† The Society of Quakers in America, observing the failure of all other methods to civilize the North American Indians, persuaded them to fix themselves in villages, and attempt agricultural labour: and, in spite of all the obstacles which their indolence opposed to this change, the acquisition of a home and of landed property produced, in a very short space of time, a great alteration in the habits and desires of these uncultivated people.‡ No ruler of mankind

* Park, i. 274, 299, 241–2; Denham and Clapperton, ii. 372–4.

† Tooke's View of the Russian Empire, Vol. iii. p. 231.

‡ Account of the Society of Quakers in America for converting the Native Indians.

was ever more strongly impressed with these truths than one whose celebrity as a warrior has unfortunately cast into the shade his great views and matchless sagacity as a statesman,—Alexander the Great, —whose efforts were incessant, after he had won the Persian crown, to reclaim the nomade tribes, on the northern frontier of his immense dominions, from the desultory habits of the pastoral, to the fixed occupations of agricultural life.*

As the division of land is thus the great step in the progress of improvement, so its distribution among the lower orders, in civilized society, is essential to maintain that elevation of mind which the separation of employments has a tendency to depress. It is too frequently the melancholy effect of the division of labour, which takes place in the progress of opulence, to degrade the individual character among the poor; to reduce men to mere machines; and prevent the developement of those powers and faculties which, in earlier times, are called forth by the difficulties and dangers with which men are then compelled to struggle. It is hence that the wise and the good have so often been led to deplore the degrading effect of national civilisation: that the vast fabric of society has been regarded as concealing only the weakness and debasement of the great body by whom it has been erected: and that the eye of the philanthropist turns from the view of national grandeur and private degradation, to scenes where a nobler spirit is nursed, amid the freedom of the desert or the solitude of the forest. To correct this great evil, Nature has provided various remedies, arising naturally from the situation of man

* Gillies's Greece, v. 49, and Arrian, Indic. c. xl.

in civilized society, and one of the most important of these is the distribution of landed property among the labouring poor. It is this which gives elevation to the individual character: which gives a feeling of independence to the industrious labourer, and permits the growth of those steady views and permanent affections; which both strengthens and improves the human mind. It is this, in short, and this alone, joined to the religious and moral education of the great body of the people, which is adequate to counteract the degrading effect of national civilisation upon the poorer classes: which can permit the growth of the human mind to keep pace with the advancement of knowledge and the progress of general improvement: and enable the poor to retain, in periods of wealth and civilisation, the individual character and the station in the community which belonged to them, when society existed in a more simple form.

In the early stages of society, in the pastoral state, the importance of the individual is secured by the situation in which he is placed, by the knowledge and intelligence which it requires, and by the value of the personal qualities with which he may be endowed. In agricultural labour, on the other hand, and still more in all the branches of manufactures, the nature of the employment is so simple, and the numbers engaged in it so great, as to degrade essentially the character of the working-classes, and of course to lower their habits and situation in the community. When wealth increases, manufactures spread, and society assumes a complicated form, the opulence and greatness of the higher classes, and the grandeur of the whole fabric of society throws into the shade the humble in-

dividuals by whose labour it is maintained, and renders the success of their exertions the means by which the distance is increased between the higher and the lower orders of the state. In these circumstances, the acquisition of property is more than ever called for, to increase the individual intelligence of the labouring classes; to check the disposition to sensual enjoyment which uniformly belongs to those to whom no higher object of ambition is permitted; to raise the lowest in proportion to the exaltation of all the superior classes of the community: to prevent, in fine, the vilifying influence of political grandeur upon individual character, and give a sufficient degree of strength and solidity to the great base on which the pyramid of society is supported.

The effects which result from the acquisition of landed property among the lower orders, are too obvious to require a particular examination. It is felt with equal force in all stages of society; and its effects are as conspicuous in the poor cottages of England, as in the peaceable inhabitants of the American wilderness. A motive of the strongest kind is thereby offered to industry, frugality, and foresight, permanent views are formed for the conduct of life, and the labourer is trained to habits of sobriety and order. "The honest acquisition of a little property," says Lord Brougham, "and its attendant importance, is beyond any other circumstance calculated to reform a needy man, by inspiring him with a respect for himself, and a feeling of a stake in the community, and by putting a harmless and comfortable life at least within the reach of his exertions. If this property is of a nature to require constant indus-

try in order to render it of any value; if it calls forth that sort of industry which repays the labourer not with wealth and luxury, but subsistence and ease; if, in short, it is PROPERTY IN LAND, divided into small portions, and peopled by a few inhabitants, no combination of circumstances can be figured to contribute more directly to the reformation of the new cultivator's character and manners."*

Even the authors who are most decidedly hostile to the distribution of landed property among the labouring classes, admit its beneficial effect upon the *individuals* to whom it is granted. "I would by no means be understood to insinuate," says Mr Malthus, "that the sudden acquisition of a little landed property will not generate industrious habits among its possessors. If the question were only how to better the condition of the existing poor, it never would have taken so many centuries to resolve it. Every one must perceive that to the present possessor it is highly beneficial; the danger is of inducing too large a population for the future."† Mr Arthur Young also, who, in his travels in France, urges so strongly the misery which, under the circumstances of that country, results from the minute subdivision of land, admits, with his usual candour, its striking effect in producing habits of industry among the labouring poor. "It is necessary

* Brougham's Colonial Policy, Vol. i. p. 62.—The important consequences of the acquisition of *property in land* upon the character and habits even of the most needy and dissolute, is nowhere more strikingly exemplified than in the change which all travellers have remarked as having taken place among the colonies of foreigners settled in different parts of Russia. They are generally men of very abandoned and idle habits, and a very few years here are found sufficient to render many honest, industrious, and frugal.

† Malthus on Population, Vol. ii. p. 241-242.

to impress on the reader's mind," says he, " that though the husbandry which I met with in a great variety of instances was as bad as can well be conceived, yet the industry of the possessors was so conspicuous and meritorious, that no commendation could be too great for it. It was sufficient to prove that property in land is of all others the most active instigator to severe and incessant toil. And this fact is of such truth and extent, that I know no way so sure of carrying cultivation to a mountain top as by allowing the adjoining villagers to acquire it in property."* And again, " leaving Sauve, I was much struck with a large tract of land seemingly nothing but huge rocks, but most of it enclosed and cultivated with the greatest attention. Every man has an olive, a mulberry, an almond, or a pear tree, and vines scattered amongst them. Such a knot of active husbandmen, who turn their rocks into scenes of fertility, because they are *their own*, would do the same by the wastes if animated by the same principle.† Going out of Gauge, I was surprised to find by far the greatest exertion in irrigation which I had yet seen in France, and there some steep mountains highly cultivated in terraces. This ride has been the most interesting I have taken in France, and the efforts of industry the most lively. An activity has been at work here, which has swept all difficulties before it, and clothed the very rocks with verdure. It would be a disgrace to common sense to ask the cause: *the enjoyment of* PROPERTY *must have done it.* Give a man the secure possession of a bleak rock, and he will turn it into a

* Tour in France, Vol. i. p. 407. † Ibid. Vol. i. p. 37.

garden : give him a nine years lease of a garden, and he will convert it into a desert."*

The beneficial effects of property, therefore, in improving the industrious habits of the persons who obtain it, seems to be generally admitted ; but the more important effects of establishing habits of frugality and moral restraint, and developing ideas of comfort among the labouring poor, are not so generally granted, and require more particular attention.

Improvidence in regard to the future is one of the great causes of the growth of a redundant population : of the multiplication of the human species beyond what the funds for the maintenance of labour can comfortably support. It is always found to exist to the greatest degree among the poorest and the most degraded class of society : among those who have no fixed object in life : who have been accustomed to attend only to the wants of the day, and who seldom look beyond the gratification of the present moment. The great circumstance, on the other hand, which tends to check this prevailing improvidence ; which leads to the formation of general views in regard to the future,—is the acquisition of some such *permanent object :* of something which may become a lasting object of ambition, and for which it may be worth while to sacrifice the indulgence of present desires. Till such object is within reach, it is impossible to expect that any attempt to control the feelings of the moment will be generally made. When we rise in the scale of society, accordingly, and examine the habits of persons possessed of property, and with the power of acquiring more, we find very differen

* Tour in France, Vol. i. p. 37–38.

principles operating, and very different views entertained in regard to the conduct of life. We find habits of prudence and foresight generally prevalent; systematic views formed and acted upon for the improvement of fortune and the exaltation of rank, and the spring of population restrained within the bounds which the interest of the individual, and consequently the welfare of society requires. The more, therefore, that we can diffuse property among the lower orders, the more do we give play to the developement among them of those motives which have so powerful an effect in regulating the dispositions of the better classes of society, and the more do we check the prevalence of those habits of improvidence, and that disposition to present indulgence, which produce such grievous effects upon the welfare of the labouring community.

The influence of artificial wants, and the elevation of the standard of comfort among the great body of the people, is another of the means intended for the modification of the principle of increase; and one which operates powerfully, as has been already shown, in the higher classes of society. Its influence, however, is entirely dependent upon the diffusion of property, and it is altogether unknown, where the means of comfort are not placed within the reach of the working-classes. Artificial wants spring up with the means of affording them gratification, and the standard of comfort is never so high, as where the people have been most habituated to the advantages and habits which property produces. The more we increase, therefore, the means of convenience and comfort to the lower orders, the more do we give scope to those principles which invariably

operate when men have reached a certain standard of comfort, and whose influence is proportional to the views of happiness which they are permitted to form. The acquisition of landed property, therefore, by the industrious poor, would promote the developement of principles leading to moral restraint, and enlarge the sphere within which their operation may be extended.

One of the strongest principles in our nature is the desire of *bettering our condition*: the wish of raising and the dread of lowering our rank in society. It is, as has often been observed, the mainspring of national improvement, and it is also the most powerful restraint which nature has imposed upon the principle of population. Its operation, however, is scarcely felt, when the condition of the labouring poor is miserable and degraded; when they have no rank in society to support; when they have nothing either in comfort or situation to lose by an early and imprudent marriage. Its influence, on the other hand, is never so powerful as when the condition of the poor is comfortable and elevated; when the great body of the working-classes are permitted to acquire the pride of superior condition; when every industrious man sees the eventual ruin of his prospects and degradation of his situation by marrying without some provision for a family. The acquisition of property in land, with its attendant comforts and importance, is, of all other circumstances, the best calculated, both to awaken this desire of an improved condition, and increase the dread of voluntarily deteriorating it; to give vigour to the principles intended to secure the welfare of the people. And herein we have reason to admire the wisdom of Nature, which has so intimately interwoven the interest of

the individual and that of the community to which he belongs, and provided in the same principle for the progress of society and the improvement of the habits and dispositions of its members: for the increase of the funds for the maintenance of an enlarged population, and the developement of the principles intended for its limitation; for the grandeur of the community, and the happiness of all the individuals of which it is composed.

To improve the habits and enlarge the ideas of comfort among the poor, the acquisition of property of any kind is of great importance; but the effects of landed property seem to be beyond any other. There is something healthful to the human mind in the possession of a portion of the earth. Property of other kinds is easily squandered or dissipated, and never can give rise to those feelings of attachment which spring up in the minds even of the lowest of mankind with the acquisition of property in land. The incessant labour which it requires; the habits of solitude or of domestic society to which it gives rise; the permanence of the object itself; all tend to introduce habits of foresight and attention, and to check that propensity to present indulgence from which so much misery arises to the lower orders. And in so doing it promotes, more than any other species of property, the growth of those dispositions and habits which restrain the operation of the principle of population.

The great difference between the effects of property in land and in money upon the human character, consists in the superior facility of dissipation which the latter possesses. The proprietor of a field cannot convert it into money, or render it the means of in-

dulging individual gratification, without disposing of it to a purchaser, or burdening it with debt. But either of these is a great and decisive step, sometimes drawing after it a change of residence, an alteration of employment, and probably the sacrifice of habits and feelings of attachment. Men pause before they take so serious a step, or indulge in the habits likely to render it necessary. But the case is totally different with the possessor of a sum of money: it melts away insensibly with the indulgence of tastes for dissipation, and can be entirely spent without involving a change of home, a sacrifice of affection, or alteration of employment. Every person must have felt himself, or witnessed in others, the great difference between the facility with which an individual in the higher ranks draws on a bank or spends money in his possession, and disposes of his estate, or sells out of the funds: and hence the importance which the friends of every man of improvident habits attaches to getting part of his professional earnings invested in land, or a house, or some other permanent object. The same principles operate with still greater force upon the poor, in whom habits of foresight are much slighter, and the desire of momentary gratification much stronger, than in their superiors: and hence the value of encouraging these habits, and counterbalancing these desires, by the strong feeling of attachment to home and landed property, which are equally powerful in all mankind.

In every country the prevalence of feelings such as these would be of great benefit to all classes of society; but in a country such as Britain their effects are calculated to be of peculiar importance. The great evil at-

tending a mercantile state is the carelessness, the prodigality, and profligacy which, to a greater or less degree, invariably prevails among its manufacturing population. This arises, perhaps, inevitably from the unnatural concourse of persons which it occasions; the contagious nature of vice and profligacy among the poor; the degradation of the human mind arising from the division of employments; and, above all, the precarious and fluctuating nature of the wages of labour in this class of society. The manufacturing labourers, in such circumstances, often grow up without any settled habits, or permanent object, squandering their high wages in times of prosperity in the indulgence of expensive or vicious habits, and suffering in periods of adversity all the misery which improvidence and folly inevitably occasion. To correct this great and growing evil no means can be so powerful as to encourage as much as possible some permanent object of ambition among the labouring classes: something whereon to employ the savings of prosperous years: something to make it *worth while to resist the propensity to present indulgence*, and submit to habits of order and restraint. And to accomplish this great object, the prospect and the power of obtaining property in land seems of all others to be the best adapted; not only from the anxious desire which the poor everywhere have to obtain it, where the means of doing so is obvious to their senses, but from the habits which it induces, and the dispositions to which it gives rise.

The dissipation and idleness of the younger part of our manufacturing population arises very much from the crowded nature of their habitations, the facilities of continual intercourse which this occasions, the long leisure which their high wages enables them to in-

dulge, and the absence of any useful object to which this leisure may be devoted. All these sources of evil the power of obtaining property in land would have some tendency to diminish. And, however impossible it may be completely to prevent the bad effects which flow from the varied intercourse and crowded population of commercial cities, much may be done, where manufactures are established in the country, to distribute small portions of land, and excite the desire of purchasing them to such a degree among the labouring poor, as may increase their activity and industry in their several employments, and render them at the same time more virtuous, orderly, and provident members of the community. The examples of part of Yorkshire, Westmoreland, Flanders, and Switzerland, where this system in regard to the manufacturing poor has long been established, and attended with the most striking and beneficial effects, prove that these observations are not less confirmed by practical experience, than justified by general views of the circumstances which influence human character.

The good effects, moreover, which the distribution of landed property among the labouring poor produce, are not confined to the individuals who obtain it, but extend to all who may hope to arrive at similar comforts. It holds out an object of legitimate ambition to all classes of the poor, evinces in the plainest manner the different effects of industry and idleness upon their own happiness, and establishes a difference of rank and comfort among the people themselves suited to the different conduct which they have pursued in life. It not only gives the actual possessors of such little property something to lose, both in

comfort and situation, by imprudence or folly; but it holds out to the young and the active something to be gained by an opposite conduct. It encourages habits of prudence, industry, and frugality among the great body of the people, and gives to them in their little sphere the same objects of ambition, and the same means of happiness, which belong to men in the higher walks of life. It tends to connect the higher and the lower orders of society; to break down the fatal barrier between the rich and the poor; to establish a gradation of rank among the poor themselves; and complete that beautiful chain in the social system which links together all the different classes of society; but which, unfortunately, even in this country, has too seldom been permitted to descend to the lower orders of the state.

It is to be observed, however, that it is only where the possession of property takes place under a government which permits the developement of the limitations intended for the modification of the principle of population, that these beneficial effects result from its establishment. Under an opposite system the consequences which flow from it are very different. Where a subdivision of landed property exists among a people who are oppressed and degraded, who have no rank in society to support, and no prospect of bettering their condition to look forward to, who are not suffered to enjoy the fruits of their toil, and acquire the artificial wants and habits of prudence which spring from their possession, it may often lead to the production of a great and redundant population. By affording the means of subsistence, at the same time that the propensities destined for the limitation of the principle

of increase are prevented from being unfolded, it affords greater facilities to the operation of that principle than any other state of society which can be imagined. These habits are transmitted from generation to generation, and multiply with the subdivision of the property, which thus comes to be only regarded as subservient to their indulgence: till at length the population becomes greater than the means of subsistence can adequately support, and poverty in its various shapes affords that check which the iniquity of government, or the wickedness of the people, prevented from being imposed at an earlier period, by the intelligence and prudence of the people themselves.

Where, then, the poor are permitted to acquire landed property, under a government tolerably favourable to civil liberty, and where they are not depressed by the oppression of the higher orders, or the effect of prevailing institutions, whether of democratic or aristocratic origin, we might expect to see a great degree of comfort and happiness generally prevalent, and the property itself promote the growth of habits of comfort, and increase the limitations to population among the great body of the people. Where the nature of the government, and the tenor of prevailing institutions, is of an opposite tendency, we might expect to see the distribution of land become instrumental only to the growth of an enlarged and redundant population, and give additional scope to the prevailing disposition to early and imprudent marriages which had already been produced by other causes.

The most eminent writers who have opposed the distribution of landed property among the labouring classes, appear to have overlooked this essential distinction, or to have reasoned on the *general* effect of

such a system from its consequences under *arbitrary* and *despotic governments*. Mr Malthus, while he admits the good effects of the acquisition of property upon the existing individuals, maintains that it must ultimately depress the condition of the labouring poor, by removing part of the load which represses the spring of population, and encouraging the production of an increased number of human beings, without a proportionate extension of the funds for the maintenance of labour.* And from the prevalence of such a system, he apprehends the degradation of the labouring classes, to the poverty, the wretchedness, and the sensual habits of the Irish peasantry. Mr Arthur Young, also, in his travels in France, pursues the same idea, and exemplifies it in the strongest manner by the miserable condition of the poor in those parts of the country where the distribution of property in land has been carried the greatest length. The same cause also has been stated as one of the principal causes of the redundant population which exists in Ireland. "In France," says Mr Young, "whatever promises the appearance of a settlement induces men to marry: the smallest inheritance is looked upon with views to a permanent settlement, and occasions a marriage, the infants of which die for want of nourishment. As procreation goes on rapidly, the least check to population is attended with the greatest misery."†

To reply to these arguments would be to recapitulate the observations which have been made in the foregoing pages. If it be true, as was there stated, that, under a favourable government, the acquisition of

* Malthus on Population, Vol. ii. p. 242, 244.

† Young's Travels in France, Vol. i. p. 470.

property is the principal means of promoting habits of comfort, prudence, and moral restraint among the poorer classes, and that it is only when the tendency of government is different, that it leads to the production of a redundant population; it follows, that the misery observed in France and Ireland to attend the possession of landed property, is not to be ascribed to the effects of that property itself, but to those errors in government which pervert its natural effects. We must ascribe it to those predisposing causes which lead the poor to take advantage of the least prospect of supporting a family to contract the marriage union; and we have already seen that sufficient evil existed in the government and institutions of both these countries to account for this predisposition. Where landed property is subdivided among the peasantry, and immediately followed by the imposition of taxes, or the exaction of rent, which consumes all the surplus produce of the soil, and leaves nothing but a bare subsistence to the cultivator, there can be no doubt that a redundant population will rapidly follow. The reason is obvious. The possession of land gives the husbandman the means of subsistence, while the burdens with which it is attended, or the oppression to which he is subjected, prevent him from indulging in any of the artificial enjoyments of life. The encouragement to increase, therefore, alone operates, without the check intended for its limitation. Where the cultivator is compelled to pay eight guineas an acre for potato land, as in Ireland, or to hand over nine-tenths of the produce of the soil to government and his landlord in the form of taxes and rent, as under the old regime, and sometimes under the present government,

in France,* it is not surprising that the limitations to population arising from the increasing comfort of the poor have not been experienced. But we must not mistake the diseased action of the principle of increase under such unfavourable circumstances for its natural operation, or imagine that those evils arise from the division of landed property, which, in truth, spring from the oppression to which the poor are subjected after they have received it.

There is, it is obvious, a certain standard of comfort prevalent among the poor of all countries, as the *minimum* requisite for contracting the marriage union, and according as this standard is high or low, is the progress of population suited or unsuited to circumstances, and the future condition of the poor comfortable or miserable. The acquisition of property in land has a tendency rather to elevate than lower this standard, by developing new views and dispositions in the minds of the lower orders. When this is prevented, and political establishments have so degraded the poor as to leave the principle of increase nearly unlimited in its operation, the division of landed property, by affording some prospect of rearing a family, must, no doubt, contribute to produce a still more redundant population. For this evil, however, we are not to blame the division of land, but those errors in the social system, which have reduced so low the standard of comfort among the poor, and led them to seize the first opportunity of contracting the marriage union, without any adequate provision for a family.

Mr Arthur Young, with his usual candour, has, since the first appearance of his Travels in France, published

* Marshall, iv. 333.

a pamphlet, strongly recommending the division of the commons of England among the labouring poor; and for this he has been accused of forgetting his general principles, and falling into inconsistency, by Mr Malthus, on the ground of having recommended in this country what he had proved had been productive of such injurious effects in France.* In truth, however, there is no contradiction whatever in Mr Young's doctrines, though he perhaps was not aware of the general principle which is to unite them. The same measure which has served only to the extension of misery where the people are debased, will contribute with equal certainty to the diffusion of happiness where they are not subject to the same oppression: and the same author, who has deplored the effects of the subdivision of land under the arbitrary government of old France, may with perfect consistency recommend it as fit to be adopted in the free country of England.

The preceding arguments have all been drawn from general principles, and were intended to illustrate the effect which, by the constitution of our nature, the subdivision of landed property is fitted to have upon human character. It may be worth while now to examine here how far these views are justified by actual experience, and how far those who entertain opposite opinions are borne out by the facts on which the decision of the present question must ultimately depend. The due importance of these facts will not be fully appreciated, if it be not remembered, that they have been collected for the most part by practical men, who detailed what they actually observed, and were en-

* See the Question of the Poor fairly stated. London, 1800. By A. Young.

tirely ignorant of the general views with which they are now collected.

In ENGLAND, the distribution of property in land to the labouring poor has been strenuously advocated by the most competent judges who have attended to this important question. The Society for bettering the Condition of the Poor recommended it in the strongest manner, as by far the most important measure which could be adopted for permanently ameliorating the condition of the lower orders, and state, from their own experience, the beneficial effects which have uniformly resulted from it.* It has been stated by a very competent observer, that, in the counties of Lincoln and Rutland, much practical good has been found to result from giving cottagers grass for a cow: that these cottagers were, in general, orderly and industrious, and, during the severe season of 1801, supported themselves either entirely without parish assistance, or with very little.† Mr Arthur Young, than whom no man is better qualified to speak of the state of the poor in this country, and the measures likely to improve their condition, strenuously advises, in two different pamphlets, the division of the commons among the industrious poor.‡ The same system is approved of in the agricultural reports of the counties of England. Take the following examples:—"In this country (Norfolk)," says Mr Kent, "it is evident that the labourer who can keep a cow or a pig is always a faithful servant

* Proceedings of the Society for bettering the Condition of the Poor.

† Inquiry into the State of the Cottagers in Lincoln and Rutland, by W. Gourlay.—Annals of Agriculture, Vol. xxxvii. p. 514.

‡ Question of Scarcity plainly stated, 1800: and Inquiry into the propriety of applying the Wastes to the better Maintenance of the Poor, by A. Young.

of his employer. He has a stake in the common interest of the country, and is never prompt to riot in times of sedition like the man who has nothing to lose, but, on the contrary, is a strong link in the chain of national security. I am persuaded if there was a certain number of cottagers in proportion to the size of estates, and they were accommodated with a certain portion of land, as a couple of acres, to enable them to keep a cow, and rear two or three pigs, and those places were bestowed as a reward to labourers of peculiar good conduct, it would do wonders towards the reduction of the rates, and the preservation of order. I have been witness to several striking proofs of this in labourers who have been thus favoured, and who were so far from being prompt to riot, that their attachment to their masters was exemplary, and they were not only steady in themselves, but, by their example, kept others from running into excess. There cannot be too many places of this sort attached to large farms; *they would be the prolific sources of the best sort of population.*"*

* General View of the Agriculture of Norfolk: for the Board of Agriculture, by N. Kent.

"There is no subject," says another of the agricultural reporters, "which deserves the serious consideration of all persons connected with land, more than the state of our peasantry. At present they are too much left to the management and control of the farmer, whose situation being only temporary, is too often induced to consider them merely as instruments subservient to his purpose, so that the poor man's spirit is depressed as he sees himself abandoned by his landlord, who, having a permanent interest in the country, is and ought to be his natural protector. The first thing to be done here, is to let every industrious poor man have a sufficiency of land not only to raise vegetables but to keep a cow, and, by that means, enabling him and his family to provide a great part of the necessary subsistence for their

On the estate of Lord Winchelsea, in Rutland, the poor have, for two hundred years back, been accommodated with small portions of ground, sufficient for a garden and a cow; and the effects of this system were so striking and beneficial, that they were made the subject of a letter by the Earl of Winchelsea to the Board of Agriculture.* In the parish of Lavington, in the county of Somerset, opposite systems have, from time immemorial, been pursued, in regard to the tenantry, by the two great proprietors who divide the parish, Lord Grosvenor and the Duke of Marlborough. The poor on the one estate were all furnished with pieces

own little community."—General View of the Agriculture of Berkshire, by Mr Pearce.

"There are also a great many cottagers, by which I mean occupiers of small portions of land, just sufficient to enable them to keep one or two cows, without preventing them from working constantly as day-labourers. This custom does not prevail in all the parishes, but wherever it does, the benefit of it is felt by the cottagers themselves in a great degree, and by the proprietors and occupiers of land, in the *lowness of the poor's rates*, and the industry and good order of this description of labourers. These small portions of land are generally well cultivated, and made the most of."—General View of the Agriculture of Rutland, by J. Crutchy.

"We venture to recommend, that proper houses should be built for farm-servants contiguous to every home-stead. This will not only promote the welfare and prosperity of that class of men, by giving them an opportunity of settling in life, which at present is not an easy matter, but will also be highly beneficial to the farmer himself, as he will, at all times, have hands within his own bounds for carrying on his labour, and have them of that description that are generally esteemed most regular and careful. * * * In Scotland there is no law against settlements, no restriction against building cottages wherever a man can procure ground to build upon, and no bars thrown in the way of the common people marrying: and yet the number of poor who are a burden upon the parish are comparatively small."—Account of the Agriculture of the West Riding of Yorkshire, by Messrs Rennie, Brown, and Sherriff.

* Letter to the Board of Agriculture, by Lord Winchelsea.

of ground, and the state of comfort and opulence to which they arrived in consequence has been such, that scarce any applications for parish relief from them are on record. The poor on the other, who had no such advantages, are in a state of comparative indigence and poverty, and are almost all compelled to have recourse to parochial assistance.*

* "The fact is," says Sir Thomas Bernard, "that, in every instance, as soon as the cottager has got one cow, all the efforts of the family are directed to the attainment of the means of purchasing another: so that some who begin with one cow ultimately succeed in purchasing four or five. It might be apprehended, that such an increase of property would induce them to trust to the produce of their cows and gardens for the support of themselves and their families: but the fact is directly the reverse. Such are the beneficial effects of early and steady industry, that these *little proprietors* are invariably the most industrious and trusty labourers. They are not only stout, healthy, clean, well-clothed, and educated in regular and principled habits, but they are used to every part of their business from the earliest period of life, every inhabitant of the cottage being from infancy so interested in *their cow*, as to imbibe, at a very early age, all the material information on those subjects. The labourer who *has property, however small*, a cow, a pig, or even a garden, has an interest in the welfare and tranquillity of his country, and in the good order of society. He who has none is always ready for novelty and experiment."—Report of the Society for bettering the Poor, ii.

The following statement of four parishes in Rutlandshire, where the peasantry have had allotments of land for centuries, compared with four in a neighbouring county, where they have enjoyed no such advantage, demonstrates the extraordinary influence of this system in diminishing the poor rates, and fostering habits of industry among the people.

Rutlandshire.—Money expended on the poor in the parishes of Hambletton, Egleton, Greatham, and Busby:—

In 1776,	L.147
1783,	140
1803,	440
1815,	506

Rental, L.14,468; Annual rate, 9d.

In the West Riding of Yorkshire, and in Lancashire and Nottinghamshire, manufactures have for a long period been carried on in the houses of the labourers themselves, which are almost all furnished with garden-ground, and in many cases with enough for the maintenance of one or two cows. The good effects of this appear, not merely in the superior sobriety and good conduct of these labourers, but in the general comfort of their appearance, and the neat and admirable condition in which their cottages are kept. The number of little freeholders and copyholders in these districts is very great: and the most cursory survey of the state of their habitations, and the substantial condition of everything belonging to them, is a striking proof of the effect of property in ameliorating the condition of the labouring classes. The *statesmen* of

Sussex.—Money expended on the poor in Burwark, Mayfield, Shepley, and West Grimstead:—

In 1776,	.	L.1848
1783,	.	2641
1803,	.	7813
1815,	.	11392

Rental, L.22,700; Annual rate, 10s. 3d.

Thus the assessment on property is more than *twelve times as heavy* in the parishes where land is withheld from the peasantry as in those where it is bestowed: and in both, the districts were purely agricultural.—Quarterly Review, xli. p. 265.

"There is no better way," says Mr Sabatier, "to encourage the poor than by inducing them to collect all their waste time in cultivating a piece of land, and to make use of all their dirt and rubbish to manure it. A cottager, who works for daily wages, has often an hour to spare in the long days, and, by weather partly wet and partly fine, at all seasons. Thus if he had an allotment of land, he might be induced to employ: it is that kind of work which Dr Franklin advises all persons to keep by them, because it may be taken up or laid down at any time, and fills up scraps of leisure, which otherwise would be spent at the alehouse."—Sabatier on Poverty, p. 132.

Westmoreland have long been celebrated for their comfort and good conduct, not less than their independent spirit; no symptoms of a redundant population are to be found in their dwellings; and they exhibit, perhaps, the most interesting examples which the British dominions afford, of the combination of manufacturing industry, with the possession of small landed properties.

But it is chiefly on the continent of Europe that the beneficial effects of the division of landed property have been fully experienced; and they have been such as in many instances to have more than counterbalanced all the disadvantages of a barren soil, and erroneous political institutions. In the examination of these countries which has already been given, abundant evidence of this observation will be found. At present a few of the most striking instances shall only be selected.

It has been already remarked, that in France, under the oppressive and partial government of the French monarchy, the division of landed property was found to be productive of a redundant population. It appears, however, that this was not always the case: for so early as the days of Machiavel it had been observed by that profound observer,* "that the French peasantry enjoyed greater comfort than any other in Europe, because there was hardly a peasant who had not a little heritage of his own, which he could bequeath to his children." The intolerable oppressions to which the French peasantry were subjected during the century which preceded the Revolution, and which, in the case of a tenant, left only *one-twelfth*, and in

* Machiavel, Hist. di Firenze, b. ii. c. 32.

the case of a proprietor, little more than *one-third* of the produce of the soil to the cultivator,* totally deranged the natural effects of this state of property, and rendered it productive of a numerous population, unable to purchase the comforts, and insensible to the desires of civilized society. But what is the present effects of this subdivision of the land, which, by the sale of the national domains, has been extended over almost all France,† while a more liberal government, and an equal system of taxation, has lightened the load which oppressed the cultivator. "I hold it to be indisputable," says the Baron de Stael, "that nothing has contributed so much to the growth of the riches of France since the Revolution, as the division of land, which has inspired a numerous class with habits of order and economy. No one can compare the present state of France, with that which prevailed in 1789, without being struck with the great increase of the national riches. Throughout all France the greater part of the labourers and farmers are at the same time proprietors. Nothing is more common than to see a day-labourer proprietor of a cottage, which serves as an asylum to his family; a garden which feeds his children; a little field which he cultivates at his leisure hours, and which enables him to sustain, with more chance of success, the terrible struggle between laborious poverty and engrossing opulence. From that state of property has arisen a well-being in the peasantry, which is desirable in any circumstances, but which becomes one of the most fortunate forms which society can assume, when it is accompanied, as in

* Marshall, iv. 333. Young, i. 413, 332, 574.

† Baron de Stael, 81. Dupin.

Protestant Switzerland, by free institutions and general education. Nor have the results upon population been found to be injurious.* Without doubt one effect of a minute subdivision of landed property is to encourage early marriages: but this tendency is effectually counteracted by the foresight which results from education and the habits of well-being, which forbid the formation of a family, before some provision for them is made, or the production of children, who cannot be educated in the rank of their parents. In the Pays de Vaud, the division of land has long been carried farther than in any country of Europe: but the increase of population has been hardly sensible in the last forty years, and during the same period, the greatest advance has been made both in the cultivation of the land, and the prosperity of the inhabitants."*

The population of France in 1789 was, according to the returns made to the National Assembly, 26,300,000 souls: it is now about 32,000,000.† Between 1801 and 1831, the population of England and Wales increased from 9,168,000 to 13,897,187,‡ and is now probably 15,500,000. In fifty years the population of France has increased about 26 per cent., or 8 per cent. in twenty years: while during the same period the population of England has increased nearly 60 per cent. The consumption of men during the Revolutionary wars, how great soever, has been repaired by twenty-five years of peace,§ and in England the number abstracted from the production of children in the army, navy, and colonies, was probably nearly as great during the same period. According to the calcula-

* Baron de Staël, 86, 98. Dupin.
† Ibid. 105.
‡ Population Returns. Porter, i. 87.
§ Dupin.

tions of M. Dupin, founded on the experience of the last forty years, the population of France doubles in 105 years: that of England in forty-two years.* The division of land, therefore, when accompanied by a tolerable equalization of rights, has decidedly *retarded* the progress of population in France, compared with its advance in the neighbouring kingdom, where such a state of property was generally unknown.

In the Pays de Vaud, and all along the enchanting shores of the Lake of Geneva, the division of landed property has, from time immemorial, been carried to the greatest extent. Baron de Stael gives the following account of this interesting district, in which he had long resided: "Around my dwelling the land is divided to such a degree, that the greater part of the properties are below an acre. Yet it may safely be affirmed, that no part of Europe offers a similar picture of prosperity. So far from there being any redundance of population, the wages of labour are there higher than in any part of the continent. The charity of the opulent classes can hardly find objects of misery to relieve; and the succour which they give would be rejected, if offered by a supercilious hand. Independence and prosperity universally prevail." † On the margin of the Lake of Zurich, and on the sunny slopes of Appenzel; in the forest cantons, and through the greater part of Switzerland, a similar state of property exists; and the traveller will search the world for a similar picture of comfort, ease, and general prosperity.‡ "The canton of Zurich," says Mr Coxe, in a passage already quoted, but

* Dupin's Force Commerciale, ii. 36.

† De Stael, 98.

‡ Personal observation.

which cannot be too often the subject of meditation, "for the mild beauties of Nature, and the *well-being of the peasantry*, is not surpassed by any spot on the habitable globe. The population is extremely numerous; in many places there is hardly an acre and a quarter to each individual. The whole country, both there and in Appenzel, resembles a continued village, being thickly strewed with excellent cottages, to almost all of which *a garden and piece of ground are attached*, which belong to the peasant, and are cultivated with the utmost care." *

"The Lower Val d'Arno," says M. Simond, "from Florence to Pisa, is the spot of all Italy where the land *is most subdivided*, and the population *most numerous, yet most at their ease.* There is not ten miles without a town, not two without a village, and hardly 300 yards without a village, which, even to an English eye, appears neat and pretty. The dress of the peasantry, as well as their dwellings, indicate the general well-being which prevails." †

"There are very few cottages in *Sweden and Norway* that have not land attached to them, which are of infinite service to the peasants and their families. The wages of labour are high, and the condition of the labourers superior to any part of Europe; some parts of Switzerland alone excepted. ‡ Population advances very slowly in both countries; the proportion of marriages in the former country being 1 to 110, and in the latter, 1 to 130. § In Lapland and Finland, also, every peasant has *a property in land attached to his dwelling*, and abundance and contentment reign in all their dwellings." ||

* Coxe, i. 173. † Simond's Italy, 110.
‡ Acerbi, Vol. i. Clarke, x. § Tooke, ii. 146. || Acerbi, ii. 106.

The comfort and opulence of the peasantry in Flanders and Holland have been remarked by every traveller. Landed property is extremely subdivided in both countries. * "The cottages and villages are extremely numerous, and furnish the greatest charm to the landscape, for they impress the beholder with the most delightful ideas of the independence and ease of the possessors. The cottages generally *have gardens round them, and a few acres of land,* which, with a cow or two, and some swine and poultry, make the condition of the peasantry as comfortable as they can be in this world.†

Nothing strikes a traveller more than the comfort and prosperity which prevails in *Upper and Lower Austria,* and the adjoining provinces of Salzbourg and Tyrol. In no part of the world do the peasants live better, or enjoy a larger share of physical enjoyments: they eat meat and drink wine every day, and dwell in the most comfortable houses.‡ The peasantry are not tenants but feuars, that is, every farmer is *proprietor of his lands* for payment of a certain fixed rent. There is an appearance of systematic regularity and steady industry throughout the whole country, which forms a pleasing contrast to the condition of the peasantry in the adjoining states.§

On both sides of the western Pyrenees, in *Bearne, Bigorre, and Biscay,* the country is divided among an immense number of small proprietors, whose situation is so extremely comfortable, that it has attracted the attention of every traveller. So far from there being any redundance in the population, the numbers of the people are hardly sufficient for their industrious

* Shaw's Netherlands. † Este, Flanders, 37. ‡ Reisbeck, ii. 71.
§ Macdonald's Austria; Edin. Encyclop.; and personal observation.

occupations. "*Every valley resembles a vast garden, thickly studded with excellent cottages.*"*

The population of *Hindostan* has frequently been referred to, as indicating the bad effect of a minute subdivision of landed property. The political evils have already been explained, which, in that rich country, by exposing the ryots to a continual system of spoliation, have prevented the growth of all artificial wants or habits of comfort among the lower orders, and consequently induced a diseased action of the principle of population. But let us examine the consequence of the same subdivision since the perpetual settlement has given even a slight degree of stability to the situation of the cultivator, by securing him for ever in the possession of his land, upon payment of the fixed rent; and since the protection of the British Government has permitted them to enjoy their protection without risk of domestic oppression or foreign invasion. "Emigrants," says Bishop Heber, "come from all quarters to the British possessions in Bengal, to enjoy the superior protection and security which they afford. Cultivation is everywhere prodigiously on the increase. † It is admitted even by those among the natives who are most hostile to the English power, that under it justice is well administered, and properly secured.‡ The consequence is, that *artificial wants are making rapid progress among the peasantry.* They are not ill off for food, though they never labour above five hours a-day, and half the year is holidays. § The desire for English articles and fashions is rapidly gaining ground, ‖ and the property they generally possess indicates that a

* Arthur Young, i. 42. Swinburne, ii. p. 111. † Heber, iii. 274.
‡ Heber, iii. 279. § Ibid. iii. 277. ‖ Ibid. iii. 284.

considerable portion of their earnings has been accumulated in a durable form. * The passion for ornament is as strong among the Hindoo women, even of the lowest rank, as the ladies of Europe, and *the silver trinkets* which you generally see on the arms and ankles of a peasant girl in Bengal, *would outdo all the finery of an English milk-maid.*† The men have just the same *desire for good living and artificial wants as other people*:‡ and the exertions which they make to improve their property prove, that they have both abundance of foresight, and complete confidence in the protection of government. It is very usual to see mangoes planted and carefully tended round the cottages, though they do not bear fruit till they are between thirty and forty years old; as striking an instance of confidence and foresight as can well be imagined. § The undue tendency to population is entirely owing to the superstition of the people, which makes them consider it a misfortune to die without offspring." ‖ It is a most curious circumstance to see the limitations to population, so long repressed by the national superstition, the oppressive exactions, and the ruinous wars of the Indian chiefs, gradually developing themselves under the protection of the British Government; and there can be no doubt, that, if the superstitious dread of dying without children could be removed, the tendency to increase, even with the present subdivision of land, and great defects in the mode of collecting the revenue, would cease to be excessive, and the enjoyment of property would exert its

* Heber, iii. 277. † Ibid. iii. 35. ‡ Ibid.
§ Ibid. i. 305. ‖ Ibid. iii. 351.

wonted influence in regulating the multiplication of the people.

"There cannot be," says Malcolm, "a more interesting spectacle, than the great district stretching a hundred miles along the Ganges, which is inhabited by the discharged soldiers of the Company's army. This district a few years ago had been a mere jungle, abandoned for ages to tigers and robbers: it is now covered with cultivated fields and villages, the latter of which are filled with old soldiers and their families, in a manner which showed their deep gratitude and attachment for the comfort and happiness they enjoyed. When we consider the immeasurable quantity of waste land in the dominions of the Company, it appears extraordinary that this plan has not been adopted in every part of India, upon a more liberal and enlarged scale. The native soldiers of Bengal are almost all cultivators; and a reward of this nature was peculiarly calculated to attach them. The accomplishment of this object would add in an incalculable degree to the ties we have upon the fidelity of those by whom our dominions in India are likely to be preserved or lost."*

These examples, to which numbers of others might be added, which are, for the most part, noticed in a former chapter,† are decisive of the present question. They demonstrate that the acquisition of land, when *unaccompanied by political oppression*, is not only the strongest stimulus to the industry, but the most powerful security *against* the undue increase of the people. The instance of Ireland, therefore, is not to be

* Malcolm's India, 1st edition, 526, 528.

† See Chap. VII., VIII., and IX.

regarded as an example of the natural effect of the division of landed property, but of the diseased action of the principle of population, under the combinations of landed possessions and political oppression; and is not to be taken as the rule but the exception.

The Baron de Stael has contended, that the distinction lies between the division of *property* in land and the division of *farms* for which a rent is to be paid. "There are not, in the world," he observes, "two situations more different, I had almost said more opposite, than that of a little *metayer* in the service of a great landholder, and that of a small independent proprietor. The feeling of property, the duties and enjoyments to which it gives rise, develope feelings in the one, to which the other is an entire stranger. With the possession of property arises foresight, and the desire of bettering one's condition, and the dread of falling in society: while the unhappy Irish cultivator, always in danger of being in want of the necessaries of life, and always dependent on the caprice of a landlord or steward, seeks, in the arms of his wife, the sole enjoyment which is left to him; and trusts for the subsistence of his children on the pity of his master, till the moment, when, driven to despair, he takes a cruel vengeance on the injustice of society. The English writers have almost all examined this subject, with a view to the question, whether the division of land is likely to diminish the poor's rates; and this opinion is, with hardly one exception, in the negative. I pronounce without hesitation, *little farms* may have that effect; *little properties the reverse.*"* These observations are perfectly just, so far as they

* Baron de Stael, 102—104.

go: but the difference to which they point is a branch only of the great distinction on the subject. It is no doubt true, that a little cottar is more exposed to oppression, and has much less the means of indulging in artificial wants, than a small proprietor: and therefore the multiplication of tenantry is more likely to produce a redundant population than the extension of small proprietors: but circumstances may occur in which farmers may be so far protected, as to rise nearly into the rank of proprietors, while, on the other, proprietors may be so much exposed to exaction as to be in no better situation than tenants at will. Thus the yeomanry, on many of the English estates, though protected by no leases, enjoy nearly the security and the advantages of property, from the kindly relation which the elective franchise has established between the landlords and tenants; while in France, under the old regime, and, in some degree, under the present Government in China and Hindostan, the multiplied oppressions, affecting the small proprietors, have left them hardly more than the necessaries of life, even from the nominal possession of land. The true distinction, which obtains universally, and explains the opposite effects of the division of land in all ages, and in all parts of the world, is to be found between landed property, where the possessor is allowed to enjoy its fruits, and landed property where the exaction of another or the insecurity of government leaves him only the means of existence. The effect is the same whether these exactions come from a burdensome system of taxation, the incursions of a hostile Rajah, a rapacious landlord, or an oppressive despot. In either case, the cultivator is allowed only to derive subsist-

ence from the soil: and the whole effect of landed property in raising the standard of comfort is crushed in the moment of its production. Like the Amreeta cup in Kehama, the division of land is the greatest of all blessings, or the greatest of all curses, according to the political circumstances of the people among whom it is prevalent. But it is ever to be recollected, that it is this difference of political situations which changes its effects: and that it lies upon the people themselves to render it the means either of conferring happiness or misery on mankind.

If the condition of the lower orders be attentively considered, it will be found that the division of land, accompanied by due protection to the cultivator, is the measure of all others most likely to diminish or remove the burden of poor's rates. The *casualties of life* are the great cause of the wretchedness which drives the poorer classes upon legal relief. Manufacturers thrown out of employment by the vicissitudes of commerce; workmen left destitute from the stoppage of public, or the stagnation of private enterprise; children thrown upon the world by the death of their parents, in places where they are unknown; widows bereaved of their support by the loss of their husbands; women betrayed by the treachery of men, or deserted when burdened with an infant offspring: these are the persons who fall upon the charity of the benevolent, and when accumulated in great numbers render some legal relief unavoidable. It is the total want of property which makes these casualties so fatal to the poor, and converts the misfortunes of the higher, into the destruction of the lower orders. Were these people possessed of property, however small, in land,

they would find an asylum amidst the vicissitudes of life; and possibly might only be excited to additional industry, and trained to severer habits by misfortunes, which, without such support, by rendering them desperate, drive them to beggary, dissipation, and despair.

Let the annals of the poor be examined, and the history of the misfortunes of each individual who is brought to the workhouse, accurately ascertained. Are they composed of persons whom the *possession of property* has reduced to ruin, whose substance has been wasted, and prospects blighted by the imprudent marriages following on little heritages? It will be found, on the contrary, that they are composed of persons who are totally destitute, and who have become involved in the consequences of an imprudent marriage, not because they *had*, but because they *had not* property. A certain degree of poverty among the labouring classes, totally annihilates all limitations on the principle of increase, and renders early marriages as universal as the indigence which creates them. Men never look before them, *unless they have some permanent object to look to*: they are always influenced exclusively by present enjoyments, unless they see some sufficient reason to forego them. Universally it will be found, that improvidence is the usual attendant on excessive degradation, and that the opposite habits prevail to the greatest extent among those classes who are farthest removed from actual want. The more that the lower orders can be assimilated to the habits and situation of their superiors, the more is the principle of increase brought under control, and the dangers of redundant numbers averted. It is by giving, not withholding, property to the labouring

classes, that means are afforded for the acquisition of these habits, and facility given to this assimilation.

Accordingly, it is extremely well worthy of observation, that while the poor's rates of England, where the labouring classes, generally speaking, are destitute of landed property, have increased to such a degree, that, anterior to the late change in the law, *one-tenth* of the whole population receive parochial relief:* the rural population of France, which now embraces 24,000,000 of persons, directly or indirectly connected with landed property, have not experienced as yet, at least, a similar necessity for any such general assistance. It appears from the information collected by the Poor Law Commissioners, that, in the rural districts of France, there is no regular system of poor laws or fixed rate levied, and in many parts, especially Britanny, there is none at all. Much misery in consequence prevails, and mendicity is general: but there can be no doubt, that but for the almost universal division of landed property, that misery would have become so excessive, as to have forced on a general assessment.† The small freeholds which each family possess furnish subsistence during the numerous casualties to which the labouring classes are exposed: and misfortunes, which in England would send a whole family to the workhouse, or plunge the younger members into irretrievable habits of dissipation or profligacy, there often pass over the class of the proprietors without producing any alteration either in their industry or their enjoyments. This is a most important circumstance, because it exemplifies on a great scale the influence of

* Parliamentary Report, 1827.

† Appendix F, p. 72, Poor Law Commissioners' Report.

landed property in preventing the misfortunes of life from producing that *hopeless misery* which ruins the habits of the lower orders. And experience has demonstrated, that it is no peculiarity in the French character to which the English are strangers, which has produced this remarkable difference between their rural population: for in the great towns of France, where the poor depend entirely on their daily wages, and landed property is generally unknown, the poor's rates are *fully as severe as in this country*. In Paris, containing 700,000 souls, the sums raised annually for the support of the poor amount to L. 500,000, and 70,000 *of the whole population annually pass through the hospitals;* while in London, whose population amounts to 1,500,000, the sum raised is not by any means in the same proportion. The sum total levied for the support of the poor in France is L.1,800,000, which is distributed among an urban population of 3,500,000 persons.*

It is related by physicians, that the Spanish authorities, mistaking the epidemic fever to which their great cities are subject for a contagious disorder, when, in fact, it arises from the pestilential air of a particular district, draw a military cordon round the sickly quarter; thus, by compelling the inhabitants to continue breathing the poisonous atmosphere which is spreading death through their dwellings: while the Americans, better informed as to the causes of the disorder, compel the people to quit the dangerous places, and the environs of the town are in consequence covered with healthy emigrants, while the deadly air is suffered to waste its malignity on empty

* Magendie, Appendix F, p. 72.

walls. It is worthy of consideration whether the writers who oppose the distribution of landed property, on the ground of its tendency to produce a redundant population, have not fallen into an error of the same kind; and whether the effect of their measure is not *to compel the poor to breathe a contagious air*, when Nature is inviting them to the salubrity of country life.

Excessive poverty is the poisonous atmosphere of the poor. There is a certain degree of indigence which generally destroys all the better faculties of the mind, almost as certainly as extreme virulence of contagion proves fatal to the body. While the poor remain in an abject state of poverty, it is impossible either to improve their habits, or regulate their numbers. The tendency to increase is never diminished, but uniformly increased by the absence of comfort or property among them. Descend to the lowest ranks of society, where misery is habitual, and you will find marriages everywhere contracted without the smallest attention to the means of maintaining a family: ascend a little higher, and you will find prudence, caution, and foresight, uniformly spreading with the extension of property: elevate your views to the higher classes, and you see these principles maintaining a complete dominion over the progress of population, and the most exalted rank always incapable, without assistance from below, to maintain its own numbers. It is not by *depriving* the poor of the means of subsistence, but by giving them the means of enjoyment, that the principles intended for the regulation of their numbers are to be developed.

In truth, the necessity for a legal relief for the

poor, is the natural consequence of the unequal distribution of wealth in the advanced stages of society, and springs not from the possession but the absence of property among the labouring classes. Where a certain degree of opulence exists in the higher ranks, the poor are drawn together in vast numbers into one place, from the concentrated demand for labour which the union of their superiors occasion; and when so accumulated, the necessity for legal relief is immediately felt. In the complicated movements of the great machine of society, a certain number of individuals are at times unavoidably deprived of the means of subsistence; in the revolutions of the wheel of fortune, many are necessarily precipitated into destitute circumstances. Without property a large proportion of these unfortunate beings must be maintained by the higher orders; either by draining the resources of the humane, or burdening the funds of the public. The English poor-rates, of which so much has been said, arise necessarily from the opulence and complicated state of society which has long subsisted in that country; and are, in fact, a part only of the most alarming feature in the political condition of the British empire.

It is related by Ammianus Marcellinus, that when Rome fell before the forces of Alaric, the whole of Italy and Africa was in the hands of 1760 great families, who resided at Rome, and cultivated their immense estates by means of slaves.* The race of freemen and independent cultivators had entirely disappeared before the engrossing wealth of the patrician classes. In France, at this moment, twenty millions

* Ammianus Marcellinus, xiv. 6.

of persons are so far connected with landed property, as to be independent of the wages of labour,* while in Britain the returns of the income tax prove, that, out of a population of 17,000,000, probably not 200,000 are exempted from the necessity of daily labour.† These facts are deserving the most serious

* The Duke de Gaeta (Gaudin) (Mémoires de Duc de Gaeta, ii. 334. Ganille, 208 166,) thus state the composition of the French population:

Agricultural proprietors and their families, -	13,059,000
Proprietors not agricultural and their families, -	710,000
Proprietors partly living on wages and their families, -	710,000
Total proprietors,	14,479,000
Agricultural labourers living on wages and their families,	4,941,000
Industrial labourers living on wages and their families,	9,579,000
	14,520,000

In other words, the class of proprietors in France is *more numerous* than that which subsists on wages: while in England it is only *a sixtieth* part of their amount.

In 1838, the number of separate properties taxed for the *Impot foncière* in France, had risen to the enormous number of 10,896,000. —Dupin, Force Commercial de France, i. 7; and Deux Ans de Regne de Louis Philippe, 271.

† The returns of the income tax in 1812 showed, in Great Britain,

127,000	persons with an income from	L.50 to L.200
22,000	- - -	200 to 1000
3,000	- - -	1000 to 5000
600	- - above	5000

152,600 persons in all possessing an income above L.50 a year; or 600,000 souls dependent upon persons in that situation. Of these the great majority unquestionably derived their incomes from professions or trades, and not from realized property. To so small a number is the immense wealth of Britain confined. The number is now greatly increased, but probably does not exceed 300,000. Mr Colquhoun calculates the number of persons of independent fortune in Britain, that is, of persons who can live without daily labour, at 47,000, and their families at 234,000: or, including bankers, merchants, and others who unite industrial profits to the returns of property, 60,000, and their families 300,000. On the other hand, there are 3,440,000

consideration. They indicate a state of society which is, to say the least, extremely alarming, and which, in ancient times, would have been the sure forerunner of national decline. Whether the weakness and insecurity arising from this state of property is counteracted in the British empire, by other causes of renovation, arising from the energy and freedom of her people, it would be out of place now to inquire; but this much is perfectly clear, that to imagine, that all hope, that while this prodigious inequality in the distribution of wealth continues, it can be possible to dispense with a tax for the poor, is perfectly visionary. Such a burden arises necessarily from the disproportion between the holders of property, and the classes dependent on the wages of labour; and the only certain mode of alleviating it is by augmenting the one class and diminishing the other.

But how, it will be asked, is this division of land to be accomplished? Are the estates of the great proprietors, as in the French Revolution, to be divided among their tenants? And if this injustice were committed, where is the security for the preservation of those institutions which the weight of the aristocracy maintains in modern Europe?

heads of families, and 16,800,000 persons living on their daily labour. The paupers, criminals, and vagrants alone are 1,800,000.—Colquhoun, 107.—111, and Baron de Stael, 54. Incredibly small as these numbers of opulent persons in the British empire may appear, the inference to which they lead is completely confirmed by the recent returns of the number of persons holding funded property laid before Parliament, which only show 281,936 persons in all holding property in the funds, of whom 87,623 draw dividends below L. 5; not exceeding L.1000, 1359; not exceeding L.2000, 402; exceeding L.2000, only 176!—See Porter's Parliamentary Tables for 1837, p. 5.

On this subject, it may at once be admitted, that if the general acquisition of land by the poor were to endanger the stability of that hereditary aristocracy which forms the great political distinction between the eastern dynasties and the European monarchies, the advantage would be too dearly purchased by the sacrifice; or rather the change would be attended by effects entirely destructive to society. However much we may lament the political effects of the feudal aristocracy of Europe, where it has not been mitigated, as in Britain, by commercial wealth, it is nothing, compared to the desolating influence of eastern despotism. Spain is in a bad situation; but it is incomparably better than Turkey or Persia. If the hereditary aristocracy, who have a permanent interest in the subsisting order of things, be destroyed, the great security against the violation of property, and the encroachments of government is removed, and the people become exposed to a succession of petty despots, who, having no permanent interest in their subjects, are naturally inclined to arbitrary exaction. Hindostan and China have for ever remained durable monuments of the woeful state of degradation to which the human race can be reduced, when no hereditary nobility, having a durable interest in the soil, exist, to shield the race of cultivators from the oppression of a centralised government; and France, which destroyed hers, and voluntarily, during the madness of the Revolution, exchanged European for Asiatic civilisation, is destined to add a third to the melancholy examples.

Nay, it may even be admitted, that toward a due developement of the advantages of landed property upon human character, the right of *primogeniture* is

indispensable. The reason is obvious. It is by giving the human mind a *permanent* object of attachment, that land produces such important effects. This feeling is destroyed, if the possessor has the painful conviction, that, the moment he dies, the family acres will be alienated, the paternal home deserted, and everything sold to the highest bidder, in order to a division of the proceeds among the different members of the family. Such a custom destroys all the invaluable local and family attachments connected with land, and converts it into a mere temporary possession, valued only as the means of accumulating fortune, or earning subsistence. This effect has been strongly experienced in America, where the established law, not less than the public feeling, supports an equal division of landed property among the children; in consequence of which, estates seldom descend from father to son, but the death of the head of the family is immediately followed by a sale of his whole effects, and the complete dispersion of all the members of his household; so that wealth as rarely reaches the third generation as in the dynasties of the east.* The result of this has been, that land is never looked upon as a permanent settlement, but as a temporary possession only; and the paternal home is abandoned with as little regret as a hired house, or a rented farm. Such a state of things is fatal, both to the stability of institutions, the dignity of manners, and the growth of affection. It destroys that permanent connection of families with land, which constitutes the great counterpoise to the turbulence of the people, by giving birth to a class whose

* Tocqueville, i. 82–83.

interests are for ever the same; it prevents the growth of those elevated classes in whom honour is hereditary and manners dignified; because character is felt to be acquired by birth, and degradation prevented by the exemption from labour. It checks the flow of all the kindly affections connected with home, and all the generous feelings associated with family, because home is known to be dependent on the life of its possessor, and family is lost by the dispersion of its members.

The establishment of a legal right in children to a certain share of landed property is still more dangerous, because it tends to undermine the independence of that class, who form the natural bulwark between the power of the throne, and the ambition of the populace. France will experience the want of such an independent body of landed proprietors, in all the subsequent contests that ensue between the crown and the people; their destruction during the Revolution has already rendered tempered durable freedom impossible in that country. But the tendency of legal provision may be modified or prevented by the state of public feeling. Europe, it has been often observed, is essentially aristocratic; and even the laws which are intended for an opposite effect, are insensibly counteracted by the opinions of those who obey them. Hence, while in America, where the democratic spirit is universal, the equal division of land is generally established, though no absolute right to any specific share is vested in the children; in France, where, in spite of the Revolution, the aristocratic spirit is still prevalent, the right of the younger children to a share of their father's heritage has not

uniformly led to the division of properties. Mutual convenience frequently leads to an arrangement, by which the younger members of the family accept a certain sum of money in lieu of their legal share of their father's land, and the elder son, under these burdens, retains the whole property:* and this obtains even more frequently among the peasantry than the middling ranks.† So powerful is the operation of this feeling, that, in the neighbourhood of great towns, and wherever the influence of industrial or commercial wealth is felt, the tendency of landed property is *to accumulate*, notwithstanding the provisions of the law,‡ and the democratical spirit of a large portion of the community.

As the division of land, however, among the industrious poor is one of the greatest steps in the progress of society, and indispensable towards the well-being of the peasantry, it may reasonably be presumed that some provision for the establishment of such a system will be found in the natural progress of opulence, and that its blessings may be diffused throughout society, without any injustice to the actual possessors of the soil. Such a provision will be found, accordingly, in the desires and inclinations which spring up in a great proportion of the higher ranks, with the possession of land; and in their vices and follies nature has established the means of transferring the benefits of which they are unworthy to an inferior class of the community.

The most cursory view of society must be sufficient to convince us, that there is a natural tendency to *extravagant expenditure* in the more opulent of the

* Baron de Stael, 85. † Ibid. 86. ‡ Ibid. 85.

land-owners. This is matter of daily observation, and constitutes one of the most remarkable features in the advanced stages of civilisation. While the industrious classes are incessantly occupied in the means of *making money*, great part of the body of proprietors seem to be as anxiously devoted to *spending it*. Their thoughts, their efforts, their lives, are for the most part devoted to this one occupation. The particular objects of desire fluctuate with the change of manners and the progress of society, but the principle remains for ever the same. The luxury of horses, equipage, villas, and entertainments, which proves fatal to so many fortunes in the present day, spring from the same principle which, in former ages, led to the pomp of baronial residence, the multitudes of liveried retainers, the pride of feudal chivalry, or the splendour of military array.

So general a disposition to extravagance in one class, while the other members of society are making constant sacrifices for the acquisition of wealth, might well excite our astonishment, if we did not reflect that it is both founded on the principles of human nature in such circumstances, and calculated to produce the most important political effects.

Experience proves that the *sudden acquisition of wealth* immediately gives birth to a multitude of desires, which speedily reduce the possessor to his former want of money. It is the long habit of previous parsimony, acquired in the stern school of necessity, which lays the foundation of the fortunes of the industrious classes: the opulent who step at once into the possession of fortune, become exposed to the temptation, without either the habits of frugality, or the

desire of accumulating, which enables their inferior brethren to withstand it. This is the real cause of the general disposition to extravagance in the wealthier classes: and as it is founded on the principles of human nature, and abundantly encouraged by the facility of borrowing which the possession of land affords, it may safely be concluded, that it will continue as long as the human race, and constitute one of the most important springs in the machine of society.

Mr Smith has observed, that this general tendency in the affluent classes is essential to the diffusion of the advantages of wealth, and that, while they are attending only to the gratification of their own vain and insatiable desires, they are, in truth, spreading their fortune through all the numberless classes who minister to their gratification.* There can be no doubt that this observation is well founded: but the ultimate effect of such extravagance in the *transfer of property*, produces consequences not less important upon all ranks of society.

When the whole land in a country has been appropriated, and become vested in a certain body of proprietors, unless some permanent causes existed to occasion its alienation, the whole advantages of landed property would be confined to a limited class of the people. The chief object of ambition to the industrious classes would be withdrawn, and the great place of deposit for the national wealth closed against the savings of the state. It is essential, therefore, to the public welfare, that a continual alienation of the land should take place, to receive the wealth which has been accumulated in the other classes; and this ob-

* Moral Sentiments, Vol. ii. p. 97.

ject is secured, like every other provided by the laws of Nature, to the full extent that is desirable, in the consequences of the measures which the higher orders pursue for their own gratification.

The extravagance or imprudence of part of the land-owners, annually brings a certain portion of their estates into the market, where it is anxiously sought after by the more fortunate of the industrious classes. Many great estates, without doubt, are purchased by wealthy citizens, who lay the successive foundations of the future dignified families of the realm. It is by such purchases that the aristocratic class is maintained in dignity and consideration, notwithstanding the folly or vices of many of its members. But many other estates are broken down into small portions, and disposed of to the more opulent of the middling ranks; these, in their turn, become exposed to the same vicissitudes, and are successively divided till they come within the reach of the labouring classes. It is by such alienations, that the free and independent race of peasantry is preserved.

Notwithstanding the superior wealth of the higher orders, it has been found by experience that the lower are frequently able to outbid them in the purchase of landed property. The combined effect of many small capitals often outweighs the influence even of the greatest fortunes. The reason is, that the lower orders *count their own labour for nothing*, and estimate the price which they give by the total produce of the soil; whereas the capitalist, who looks for a profitable return for his investment, is compelled to take into view the expenses of cultivation. The peasant purchases a few acres, from local attachment, or domestic convenience; whereas the great proprietor, to whom

such temptations are unknown, is influenced chiefly by the return which he is to receive for his money. It will be found, accordingly, that where the habit of making such purchases is common among the peasantry, the prices which they give for land often greatly exceed that which would afford a return for extensive capital: and this, accordingly, has been experienced in many parts of France, where, in consequence of the repeated shocks which mercantile credit has received, the opinion is universal among the peasantry, that land affords the only secure investment for their savings. * Nor is the high price which is thus given by any means a matter of regret for the people themselves; for it furnishes an investment for little hoards, which otherwise would have had no existence; and, however small may be the return for money so applied, it is greatly more than would be obtained if it were spent in the ale-house, or squandered at the gaming-table.

Land being the great place of deposit for the savings of all ranks, every institution which prevents the free circulation of estates is prejudicial, not only to the class of proprietors, but to all ranks of the community. This is at once perceived in the ordinary investments for money, although the prejudices arising from feudal institutions prevent their being generally admitted in regard to landed property. If one-half of the shares in the funds were to be entailed on certain families, on the ground of the necessity of maintaining the monied aristocracy; or if the advantage of depositing money in public banks were to be monopolized by a particular class in the state, the impolicy of such exclusive privileges would be immediately acknow-

* Baron de Stael, 86, 87.

ledged. *Land is the great bank of the state*; and every restriction on its free circulation not only prevents capital from taking its natural and best direction, but withdraws one of the greatest inducements to laborious industry in all classes.

The impolicy of *entails*, therefore, arises not merely from their tendency to fix estates in certain families, by whom the requisite encouragement to agriculture cannot be afforded, but from their influence in closing the door against the investment of the middling ranks, and perpetuating that state of public feeling which prevents the acquisition of landed property by the poor. This is an evil of the very first magnitude, because it hinders the lower orders from acquiring that degree of solidity, and that connection with property, which is the only sure foundation of public prosperity. The state of the labouring poor in England, where one-twelfth of the whole population was, in 1818, dependent on parochial relief, is a complete proof of this observation: for although, strictly speaking, the English law does not recognize entails, yet they are practically established by the tendency of public feeling, and the succession of family settlements, by which great estates are effectually secured from alienation.

Wherever entails have been established to any considerable extent, they have proved prejudicial in the highest degree to the public welfare. We have no occasion to refer to Spain* or Italy† for proofs of this observation, where a great part of the territory of the state is locked in the hands of a few families, by whom no improvement whatever can be effected. In Scotland the evils of this system have been so severely felt

* Laborde. † Young's Travels.

as to render some legislative remedy unavoidable.* Nearly two-thirds of the country is now held under the fetters of strict entail;† and these vast districts would in consequence have been as deserted and sterile as the entailed estates of Spain, were it not for the protection afforded by law to the rights of the holders of leases;‡ the intelligence of the middling ranks, arising from the established system of public education; and the encouragement to industry which the public banks have afforded. These circumstances, by developing the whole talents of the state, by providing a secure plan of deposit for the savings of the labouring classes, and giving them an indefeasible interest for a term of years in their farms, have gone far to counteract the ruinous effect of the restrictions which impede the commerce of land: although vast districts, capable of advantageous cultivation, are still in a state of nature, in consequence of the want of that strong stimulus to activity which the right of property affords.§

Perhaps, however, the remarkable want of landed property among the labouring-classes both of England and Scotland, is chiefly owing to another cause, which is easily susceptible of a remedy; viz. the complicated system of land rights which prevail in both countries, and the enormous taxes which attend the transmission of heritable property. The result of these circumstances has been, that the expense of acquiring landed property is such as almost to amount to a prohibition, except where the estate acquired is considerable. The tax to government upon the conveyance stamp is *ad valorem* from ten shillings to L.1000, and the cost of completing

* Evidence on Entails, Parl. Proc. 1828. † Ibid.
‡ Ibid. 1449, c. v. § In particular in the Highlands.

the titles, even of the smallest properties, from L. 5 to L. 10. These expenses are not at all felt when the estate sold is very valuable; but when it is a few acres only, they add most seriously to the burdens of the purchaser. If a poor man has L. 100 to invest, it is a most grievous circumstance, if, *in addition* to the price paid, he has L. 10 or L. 20 to hand over to his agent for the preparation of his title-deeds; and is felt as the more vexatious when a few shillings only is incurred in purchasing into the funds, and no charge whatever made upon depositing money in a bank. The experienced difference between the expense of these opposite modes of investment, and the unlimited confidence in public credit, has led, both in England and Scotland, to a very general preference of monied to landed property among the poor; while in France, the facility of acquiring land, and the terrible catastrophes which have attended every species of mercantile investment, has led to the universal conviction, that the only secure species of property is that which is laid out in cultivation.* The result has been, that 24,000,000 of persons in France are directly or indirectly connected with landed property,† while in Scotland alone, it is calculated that nearly L. 20,000,000 is deposited in the public banks, chiefly in sums below L. 100 each :‡ and the great bulk of the English funds is composed of small sums, on which the more opulent of the middling and lower ranks maintain a comfortable existence.§

* Baron de Stael, 85. † Mem. du Duc de Gaeta, ii. 336.

‡ Parl. Proc. 1826.

§ No less than 206,000 persons have right to dividends under L.50 a year; of whom 140,000 are under L. 10.—Parl. Return for 1837; Porter's Tables for 1837, p. 5.

There is no reason why this unnatural and alarming state of things should be rendered permanent. There is no political necessity for shutting out the labouring poor from the best and most secure investment for their money. There is no advantage in confining the lower orders to purchase in the funds, or deposit in the banks, while the higher are daily expending the greatest part of their savings in the acquisition of great estates. There is no public benefit which can result from subverting the political balance, in the purchase of landed property, and placing the greater part of the soil in the hands of great proprietors, while the middling and industrial classes are connected, both from interest and inclination, with the monied interest. Yet this is the great distribution of property, which every person must be sensible is daily becoming more apparent in this country.

Why not make the transfer of small possessions in land as simple and economical as the sale of funded property, or the indorsement of mercantile bills? Lawyers and conveyancers will exclaim that the change is impracticable; but, disregarding the clamour of interested classes, there is no solid reason which can be assigned why it should not be attempted. Why should it be more expensive to convey one hundred pounds worth of land, than one hundred thousand pounds of Government stock? and why is more accuracy of description required in the sale of a cottage or a field, than in the vendition of an East-India-man, or of a cargo of wine in a bonded cellar? It is perfectly practicable to describe a small property, so as to be completely distinguished from any other, in half a page: and what more is required in a purchase than such a

description, with the name of the buyer and seller, the price and date of the transfer? The whole might be easily included in the length of an ordinary page, and rendered not more costly than the sale of funded property to the same value.*

Towards the due distribution of landed property through the different ranks of the state, it is indispensable, that the process for the attachment of land for payment of debt should be rendered more easy and expeditious. As the law at present stands in both countries, it is abundantly easy to arrest the person, and seize the movable estate; but the expense and difficulty of attaching the land is so great, that it is hardly ever attempted, unless for payment of very large debts. Bankers, merchants, and monied men of every description, prefer good personal security to landed bonds, unless the loan is intended to remain for a considerable time; because experience has proved, that, if the rapid recovery of a debt is the object, heritable security is the very worst which can be devised. There is no reason, however, why this should be the case; why the purchase and disposal of land should be equally hedged round with difficulties, and the greatest subject of human industry withdrawn from that rapid circulation which obtains in objects of inferior value.

It is very common in Britain to see opulent merchants or manufacturers purchase great estates, and retire from business to the enjoyments of a country life. It is equally common to see tradesmen and shop-

* A method similar to this is established for the conveyance of landed property in Prussia, which is all surveyed and described by the boundaries of the separate properties in the government books; and an extract from these books, setting forth the purchase, constitutes the title of the purchaser.

keepers acquire villas, and transmit to their children, if not the habits of a country life, at least some of the pleasures of a country residence. But it is extremely rare to see the labouring classes, the weavers, mechanics, or journeymen of great cities make any such change, either of residence or enjoyment. They never purchase cottages or little freeholds in the country, in order to emancipate their offspring from the irksome confinement of urban life, and restore them to the freedom and happiness of rural occupation. Of the multitudes of the higher ranks who annually crowd to the towns in quest of business, of pleasure, or of amusement, some are annually restored to the country, crowned with affluence, and elevated in situation: of the multitudes of the lower who are impelled thither in quest of subsistence, none ever return, unless they have risen into the condition and acquired the tastes of their superiors. The life of their equals in the country is an object of ambition to the higher ranks in towns:—it is an object of contempt to the labouring classes. Many merchants wish to become landlords, but no weavers wish to become ploughmen. The reason is obvious. The higher orders in cities look up to the landlords in the country, because they are *proprietors*, and lead a life exempt from labour; the lower look down upon the cultivators in rural districts, because they are mere workmen, and doomed to a life of incessant toil.

The consequence of this diversity in the inclinations of the different ranks have been, in the highest degree, important. The wealth of the rich has a constant tendency to flow towards the purchase of land: the savings of the poor are as regularly invested in heritable securities, or in the public funds, either directly

or through the intervention of the public banks. The affluent classes become the sole landholders; but the middling and lower hold securities, which render them frequently little better than stewards for the management of their estates. This is a most extraordinary state of things, fraught with very singular effects. The landed aristocracy is daily on the increase; estates are continually enlarging, and the race of little proprietors is, in many places, completely extinct; while, on the other hand, the public debt is L. 750,000,000, the amount of heritable securities affecting the landed property in the island is computed at several hundred millions, and the embarrassments of the landholders, in every part of the country, have increased to an unprecedented extent. The one set of consequences necessarily flow from the other: for the growth of wealth in the middling and lower ranks being debarred from its natural outlet in the purchase of land, accumulates in the hands of the monied interest, and is absorbed by the wants of Government, or the necessities of an extravagant body of land-owners.

The security of property, which the equal administration of the law, and the means of secure investments which the public funds afforded, have proved a sufficient stimulus to the industry of the lower orders, and entirely withdrawn their attention from the acquisition of landed possessions. But the result of this has been to place the nation in a novel and unnatural situation, of which we are only beginning to experience the bitterness. The savings of former years having been invested in a great place of public deposit, of which the nation paid the interest, their very magnitude has proved a grievous burden on the fresh efforts

of industry. The riches of former years, instead of being a prolific source of wealth, and a powerful auxiliary to the labour of the present times, has become the severest oppression to it; and many of the wealthy classes, in place of adding, by their industry, to the general stock of their community, are content to live in idleness upon that proportion of the fruits of the industry of others, which their share of the public funds entitles them to draw. The landholders, therefore, have little cause to congratulate themselves upon the result of the restrictions on the commerce of land, which their political influence has enabled them to perpetuate: the enormous load of public and private debt has been greatly enhanced by these restrictions, which, by withdrawing land from the purchase of the middling and lower orders, has led to the overflow of wealth in the market, and furnished a ruinous temptation to the expenditure of government, and the extravagance of individuals. In their anxiety to uphold their own greatness, they have taken the course of all others the most likely to destroy it: they have avoided the vexation of seeing their estates surrounded by thriving little freeholders, who maintained themselves by their own industry; and they have incurred the clamour of importunate creditors, and the visits of inexorable tax-gatherers.

It is deserving of consideration, therefore, whether it is really practicable to uphold the landed aristocracy on any other footing, or by any other means, than their own prudence and respectability, and whether, by attempting to screen them from the ordinary consequences of extravagance or folly, we do not bring them ultimately into a state of still greater humiliation, than that to which

they would have been exposed, if placed in the same situation with ordinary men. And if this matter be at all doubtful, the weight of the consideration on the other side is sufficient to cast the balance. There is an immense difference between the condition of a country, where a numerous body of cultivators maintain themselves in comfort on the produce of their own lands, and that of a state where ninety-nine out of the hundred in the whole community are dependent on the fluctuating wages of labour: there is a still greater distinction between a country where the fruits of industry are wholly enjoyed by the persons who exert it, and one where the one-half are carried off to defray the interest due to idle and opulent creditors, or discharge the engagements of an involved government. Restrictions upon the purchase of land have an immediate tendency to produce the latter state of things, and to render the condition of the landed aristocracy in reality more degraded than if they were continually strengthened by the infusion of wealth and vigour from the commercial classes. Here, as everywhere else, we may perceive that wherever the tendency of political institutions is injurious, there is an under current going forward to correct their imperfections; and that the means which Nature adopts for the restoration of a healthful order of things, arise out of the consequences of those very institutions which they are ultimately destined to remove.

On the other hand, and this is a most important consideration, it has now become perfectly manifest, that those violent and unjust measures on the part of the middle or lower classes of society, which terminate in the confiscation of the property, either landed or

monied, of the higher classes, never can lead to their durable improvement. The almost entire destruction of the landed aristocracy in France, which took place during the Revolution, partly from the confiscation of property of the emigrant noblesse, partly from the universal revolution of fortunes produced by the assignats, have left that great country without the possibility of framing what can be a durable free government. The division of the whole landed property of the country, among above ten millions of separate landed proprietors,* has excluded the possibility of creating any effectual checks to the authority of the central government. Napoleon clearly felt this, when he used the memorable and profound expression, "The destruction of the aristocracy has proved fatal to all the subsequent efforts for establishing a constitutional monarchy in France: the French Revolution *has attempted the solution of a problem, as impossible as the direction of balloons.* An aristocracy is the true support of the throne; its moderator, its lever, its fulcrum. The state without it is a vessel without a rudder; a balloon in the air."† Mr Burke stated, at the very outset of the French Revolution, that, without a complete restitution or indemnification to all the dispossessed proprietors, it would be impossible to construct a stable constitutional monarchy in France.‡ And the most profound observer upon the modern state of society in that country, himself an ardent supporter of liberal institutions, has

* Ten millions eight hundred and eighty-six thousand, by the latest returns furnished by the French government.—Porter's Progress of the Nation, i. 73. Documents Statistiques sur la France, 1835.

† Las Cases, iii. 23. ‡ Burke's Works, v. 289.

confirmed the same opinion. "When estates are divided," says M. Tocqueville, "and races are confounded, where shall we find the spirit of family? What force will remain to the influence of habit among a people changing perpetually; where every act of tyranny will find a precedent in previous disorders; where every crime can be justified by an example; where nothing exists of sufficient antiquity to render its destruction an object of dread; and nothing can be figured so new that men are afraid to engage in it? What resistance would manners afford, which have already received so many shocks? What could public opinion do, when twenty persons do not exist bound together by any common tie; when you can no more meet with a man, a family, a body corporate, nor a class of society which could represent or act upon that opinion; when each citizen is equally poor, equally impotent, equally isolated, and can only oppose his individual weakness *to the organized strength of the central government?* To figure anything analogous to the despotism which would then be established amongst us, we would require to recur, not to our own annals; we would be forced to recur to the frightful periods of Roman tyranny, when manners being corrupted, old recollections effaced, habits destroyed, opinions wavering, liberty deprived of its asylum under the laws, could no longer find a place of refuge; where no guarantee existing for the citizens, and they having none for themselves, men in power made a sport of the people, and princes wore out the clemency of the heavens, rather than the patience of the subjects." *

* Tocqueville, ii. 258, 259.

The way in which tyrannic government is thus irrevocably fixed upon a country which has dispossessed all its considerable landed proprietors, is perfectly apparent. The immense body of little land-owners, like a rabble without leaders, are incapable, in the long-run, of withstanding the ceaseless pressure of a central government, having at its command the army, the civil employments, the revenue, and the whole influence of the state. The total annual produce of the agriculture of France is estimated by Dupin at 4,500,000,000 of francs, or L. 180,000,000 Sterling.* Since then there are 10,872,000 separate proprietors, the average produce of each must be about L.8, 10s. Sterling, and his clear profits from the soil half of the produce, or L.4, 5s. annually; and, accordingly, it is stated in the latest official account of France, that the average extent of each property is eleven acres and a-half.† Now what sort of resistance can a body of this kind, almost all in the humble ranks of life, and totally destitute of any leaders, oppose to the incessant efforts of a central government trying to augment the taxes, and of a powerful, united, and intelligent middle class of burghers in the towns, continually striving to shift the burden off their own shoulders upon the more defenceless cultivators of the country? In fact, the finance returns of France prove, that in 1815, in that country, the number of persons who paid direct taxes to the amount of forty pounds, were only seventeen thousand seven hundred and forty-five.‡ And as these taxes in France are fully twenty per cent. on landed property, it follows that there were only seventeen thousand land-owners who were worth

* Dupin, Force Com. i. 7.

† Documents Statistiques sur la France, 1835. ‡ Duc de Gaeta, ii. 327.

two hundred pounds a-year; while the number of those who were taxed below twenty-one francs, or sixteen shillings and tenpence, amounted to the enormous, and, unless proven by official documents, to the incredible number of seven millions eight hundred and seven thousand.* Thus there are nearly eight millions of landed proprietors in France who are only worth L. 4 a-year each, while the class of considerable proprietors does not exist.

A body of landed proprietors of this description, though extremely formidable if roused to simultaneous action by any common danger obvious to the senses, such as the threat of resuming the confiscated estates, is altogether incapable of those long-continued and sustained efforts requisite to maintain a successful contest with the executive government and the burgher classes; and the effect of this speedily appeared even under the revolutionary governments of France. So early as 1805 the net profits of cultivation in France was ascertained to be L. 48,000,000 a-year, and the land-tax was above L.10,800,000, being above twenty per cent. upon the clear income of the proprietor. Heavy as this impost was, it was rendered far more oppressive by the unequal mode in which it was levied, from the unjust qualities in the general valuation or cadastre, according to which all the direct taxes on every proprietor are calculated. The Duc de Gaeta has told us, that, in consequence of this, "there were some proprietors in France paying a fourth, a third, and even a half of their clear revenue in the form of a direct tax, while others are rated only at a tenth or a twentieth."† Napoleon has added his testimony to

* Duc de Gaeta. Peuchet, 286-287. † Duc de Gaeta, ii. 261.

what the effect of this system was upon the security of landed property in France. "The result of it is," said he, in the council of state, "that there is *no such thing as property, or civil liberty in the country*; for what is freedom without security of property? There can be no security in a country where the valuation on which the tax proceeds can be changed at the will of the surveyors every year. A man who has 3000 francs of rent a-year, (L. 120), cannot calculate upon having enough next year to exist; everything may be swept away by the direct tax. We see every day questions about fifty or a hundred francs gravely pleaded before the legal tribunals, and a mere surveyor can by a simple stroke of the pen surcharge you several thousand francs. Under such a system there cannot be said to be any property in the country."* These evils have never received any effectual check under any of the subsequent governments which France has enjoyed. On the contrary, the land-tax has now risen to L. 14,000,000 a-year, and, when taken in conjunction with the local centimes, or additional impositions for municipal burdens, the direct tax is never less than from twenty-five to thirty, sometimes as high as forty and even fifty per cent. on the income of the proprietor. The protecting shield of the great landholders, the only effectual barrier against the imposition of such burdens, has been totally destroyed, and the French peasants, as the just reward of their revolutionary crimes, are fast sinking into the condition of the ryots of Hindostan.

Education and instruction are the security which in the present age are generally relied on to counteract this obvious tendency of revolutionary convulsion and

* Thibaudeau, Conseil d'Etat de Napoleon, p. 147.

spoliation to terminate in general despotism; and it is thought by many, that the political renovation and individual instruction of the great body of the people will erect a sufficient barrier against the encroachments of power, and amply compensate for the destruction of the great landed proprietors. Such persons would do well to bear in mind the memorable fact already mentioned, that for ages the despotism of China has been supported, and that for years, that of Napoleon was upheld in Europe, by maxims propagated by the press.* The press is an instrument of vast, it may be said of incalculable power; but it is the greatest of all illusions to suppose that that power will always and of necessity be exerted on the side of freedom. The universal democratic quality which prevails, has had no tendency to check the democratic despotism which, as has been already shown, renders it nearly as unsafe to exhibit the external appearances of wealth in America as in China.† It may be relied upon, that if the bulk of the people become corrupted, either from the selfishness of repose, the enjoyments of pleasure, the passions of power, or the luxuries of opulence, the press will become the most fatal instrument that ever was devised for destroying the liberties of mankind; for it will throw its enervating spell over their minds, and deprive them even of the wish to regain their freedom.

The retribution, therefore, which awaits the people of a country, who forcibly seize upon the possessions of their superiors is swift and inevitable; and leads to the certain overthrow of the whole objects for which

* Ante, I. 331.

† Tocqueville, ii. 145, 146, 12, 13.

the popular movement had been commenced. To attempt it in Europe, is precisely to exchange western for eastern civilisation; to destroy voluntarily all the bulwarks which have saved Europe from the fate of the oriental world. What is the present condition of France? A monarchy, which, though nominally hereditary, is in practice almost elective; no territorial nobility; no hereditary rank; no free municipal institutions; no political influence in nine-tenths of the people; offices of importance dependent solely upon the sovereign pleasure; a standing army of 400,000 men, and an innumerable body of separate small landed proprietors. In what respect does this differ from the institutions of China or ancient Rome? What in the end is to distinguish the French peasants from the ryots of Hindostan?

No lasting benefit can accrue to nations, any more than to individuals, from acts of injustice. The greatest possible blessings when earned by industry become the most dreadful scourges when won by injustice. Generally speaking, property is a great advantage, and it unquestionably is so when it is the fruit of honest industry; but no family were ever permanently benefited by the fruits of rapine. The reason is obvious. It is not the mere possession of money, but the habits by which money has been earned, and by which its use is to be regulated, which constitutes the lasting benefit. If the wealth is acquired by habits of iniquity, it becomes only the source of discord, or the fountain of corruption. A great example of revolutionary spoliation proves fatal to public morality: every subordinate injustice seems to be screened and justified by the great example of public robbery. Where, in such a

state of things, can be the security for freedom, or protection to any class from the injustice of the powerful; for who is to form the guarantee, when all are corrupted? Who is to appeal to justice, when government itself, and a vast part of the property of the state are established on the fruits of rapine? To nations, not less than to individuals, Providence is a jealous God; He visits the sins of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation. The French peasants hitherto may have been benefited by the property which they gained during the Revolution, but the day of retribution has already commenced: the bulwarks of European civilisation have disappeared in the land; like the Romans of old, they have aspired to be equal, and they have been levelled by the equality of Asiatic servitude.

CHAPTER XI.

ON THE MORAL EVILS AND MANAGEMENT OF THE POOR IN GREAT CITIES.

ARGUMENT.

Contagion of Vice in Great Cities—Want of foresight and sway of immediate desire the great evils—Innumerable temptations to which the poor are there exposed—Voluntary Charity, or Benevolence, wholly unable to relieve it—Example of the total failure of the Voluntary System in Glasgow—Popular Instruction inadequate to restrain it, from the limited class whom it really can affect—Proof of this from the example of the higher classes—Causes of this failure—Which are of a permanent class—It is necessary to enlist the active propensities on the side of Virtue—Effect of this on all classes of Society—Necessity of raising the duties on Ardent Spirits—This an indispensable preliminary—Improvement by public authority and aid of the worst part of crowded streets and alleys—Vigorous, just, and expeditious administration of Criminal Law—Great value of the punishment of Transportation—General System of Emigration for the destitute Poor at the Public Expense—Establishments for giving the people the means of saving—Uniformly beneficial effect of private Charity—Answer to the prevailing errors on this subject.

IT is comparatively an easy task to provide for the welfare of the poor in rural situations. The solitude in which they are placed, the incessant toil to which they are destined, the free air which they breathe, are as conducive to the healthful state of the mind, as to the strength of the physical frame. Society there exists in a simple form: the seductions of vice are far removed, and the occupations of men have a natural alliance with habits of order and propriety. An equal administration of public justice, a tolerable system of religious education, and an unrestrained facility of acquiring landed property, are generally sufficient, in such situations, both to establish habits of industry,

and to develope the requisite limitations to the principle of increase.

The great difficulty in the management of the poor occurs in great cities. It is there that vice has spread her temptations, and pleasure her seductions, and folly her allurements: that guilt is encouraged by the hope of impunity, and idleness fostered by the frequency of example. It is to these great marts of human corruption, that the base and the profligate resort from the simplicity of country life: it is there that they find victims whereon to practise their iniquity, and gains to reward the dangers that attend them. Virtue is there depressed from the obscurity in which it is involved: guilt is matured from the difficulty of its detection: licentiousness is rewarded by the immediate enjoyments which it promises. If any person will walk through St Giles's, the crowded alleys of Dublin, or the poorer quarters of Glasgow at night, he will meet with ample proof of these observations: he will no longer wonder at the disorderly habits and profligate enjoyments of the lower orders: his astonishment will be, not that there is so much, but that there is so little crime in the world.

The great cause of human corruption in these crowded situations, is the contagious nature of bad example, and the extreme difficulty of avoiding the seductions of vice, when they are brought into close and daily proximity with the younger part of the people. Whatever we may think of the strength of virtue, experience proves that the higher orders are indebted for their exemption from atrocious crime or disorderly habits, chiefly to their fortunate removal from the scene of temptation: and that where they are exposed

to the seductions which assail their inferiors, they are noways behind them in yielding to their influence. Solomon never showed his wisdom more than in recommending to the young to fly from the allurements of the strange woman; knowing well, that to remain and to resist were more than could be expected of human nature. It is the peculiar misfortune of the poor in great cities, that *they cannot fly* from these irresistible temptations: but that, turn where they will, they are met by the alluring forms of vice, or the seductions of guilty enjoyment.

Experience has proved that the fable of the philosopher is founded on an intimate acquaintance with the state of man in this world: and that the rival goddesses of pleasure and virtue, which stood before the infant Hercules, are not more dissimilar in appearance than the opposite paths of amusement and of duty are to every human being. The one promises future distinction, but requires present sacrifice: the other is lost in obscurity as it advances, but offers immediate gratification. The election of most men in the higher ranks in favour of the former, is in a great measure owing to the pains which are taken in education, or the fortunate influence of situation in concealing the seductions of the latter, till *habit* has confirmed the tendency to good conduct. It is the experienced impossibility of *concealing the attractions of vice* from the younger part of the poor in great cities, which exposes them to so many causes of demoralization from which their superiors are exempted; and renders the contagion of guilt so infinitely more rapid than the influence of good example.

Licentiousness among the poor is always attended

with present enjoyment; good conduct implies its abandonment. The one sacrifices the future for the present; the other the present for the future. There always will be found, no doubt, a certain number of persons among the lower orders in great cities, who will even in the outset of life take the right path, from a perception of the ultimate advantage to which it leads; but their number will as uniformly, it is to be feared, be inconsiderable compared with those who drown the prospect of the future in the whirl of present gratification. The proportion between them will be nearly that which subsists between men of strong understanding, and men of easy character: and every man's experience must have convinced him that the latter are always extremely numerous compared to the former.

The habits of rural life are favourable to the growth of foresight among the people. The cultivator sows, and does not expect to reap for a long period: during the intervening months he is incessantly occupied in severe labour, with a view to a future and distant benefit. Even the regularity of the seasons, and the stated recurrence of changes in which he is compelled to take an interest, incline his mind to the contemplation of distant events, and habituate him to the endurance of present labour with a view to a remote advantage. But the poor in towns are accustomed to totally different habits. No change of seasons, no recurrence of seed-time and harvest invite them to the contemplation of distant events, or to the habits of present sacrifice from the view to future benefits. The division of labour, so favourable to the greatness of the community, and so fatal to the character of the individual, confines them to a limited occupation, and

an unvarying employment. The foresight which is forced upon the mind of the cultivator is entirely devolved in cities upon the master manufacturers; while his workmen seldom look beyond the manual labour in which they are employed, or the weekly return of the wages by which they are rewarded. The influence of this diversity in the occupation of the rural and the urban population is strongly exemplified in all those political convulsions which bring the character of the lower orders prominently forward. Trifles light as air agitate the populace of cities, and impel them into violent measures, without any regard either to the consequences of their proceedings, or to the reasonable prospects of success which they afford; while the rural labourers coolly calculate the result of their attempts, and generally adhere to the subsisting institutions of their country in preference to those which are proposed in their room. Government may frequently disregard the clamour of towns, as produced by passion, or the contagion of public frenzy; but they have good cause for alarm, and may rely on the existence of serious political evils, when the peasantry of the country begin to assemble in arms.

This want of foresight, which is so peculiarly the characteristic of the poor in great cities, produces the most fatal effects, both on the morals and the situation of the people: it is the immediate cause both of the increase of depravity, and the redundance of the population. The young glide into vicious habits from the desire of present indulgence, and the total absence of all regard for the future: children are brought forth from the force of momentary passion, without even a lasting connection of the most irregular kind

between the parents. Hence arises a miserable and vicious population, who haunt the streets and spread the contagion of those irregular habits in which they have subsisted from their earliest years. The appalling facts, that in Paris *every third child is a bastard*, and *one-sixth* of the whole population die in the public hospitals:* that in London one-tenth of the whole population are paupers, and 20,000 persons rise every morning without knowing where they are to sleep at night;† while at Glasgow nearly 30,000 persons are every Saturday night in a state of brutal intoxication, and *every twelfth house* is devoted to the sale of spirits:‡ and in Dublin 60,000 persons *in one year* passed through the fever hospital,§ prove the dreadful consequences of such improvident habits in situations where the poor are assembled together in great numbers.

The higher orders are never tired of expressing their astonishment at such a rapid increase of depravity among the labouring classes in great cities; and at the inefficacy of all the means adopted for their improvement. Let us attend to the situation in which the poor are placed in these scenes of vice, and the temptations to which they are exposed, before we join in the clamour.

A family is compelled by circumstances, or induced by interest to leave the country, and take up their abode in a great city. They bring with them, we shall suppose, the simplicity of country life, and the orderly religious habits which prevail in their sequestered home. In what circumstances do they find them-

* Dupin, Force Commerciale de France, i. 140.

† Colquhoun, p. 192. ‡ Cleland's folio Statistics of Glasgow, 113.

§ Report on the Fever, 1827.

selves after they have been six months members of a more populous community? The extravagant price of lodgings compels them to take refuge in one of the crowded districts of the towns, in the midst of thousands in similar necessitous circumstances with themselves. Under the same roof they probably find a nest of prostitutes, in the next door a den of thieves. In the room which they occupy they hear incessantly the revel of intoxication, or are compelled to witness the riot of licentiousness. When the young men return in the evening from their work, they are surrounded by persons whose seemingly joyous and indolent life, forms a grievous contrast to their own severe and incessant toil: when the young women cross the threshold of their door, they meet the votaries of passion, and are assailed by the arts of seduction. Guilt seems alone to share in the pleasures of life: virtue is left to pine in unnoticed and joyless obscurity. The great and the affluent, whose smile might reward their efforts to sustain the struggle, or whose assistance might revive the expiring members of virtue, are never to be seen; the hideous mass of poverty which they cannot relieve banishes them from these gloomy abodes. The poor are left alone and unbefriended to sustain the terrible struggle with poverty, temptation, and despair. Present enjoyment seems the universal object of life: the men hasten from their masters' workshop to spend their wages often in the delirium of intoxication; the women to forget their degradation in the arms of their lovers, or seduce the unwary into the pleasures of sin. The habit of indulgence produces an incessant craving for its renewal; and life comes to be spent in the endless routine of labouring to pro-

duce the means of gratification; and of suffering life through years of existence, to forget it in hours of pleasure.

The continuance of the story will probably not brighten the picture. One of the sons is inveigled into the society of some of the numerous bands of thieves by whom he is surrounded: he commits a housebreaking, and is transported for his offence. The virtue of the daughters speedily gives way in the tumult of licentiousness by which they are surrounded, and they find themselves left upon the streets, abandoned by their relations, and with no other resource but to entice others into the fatal vortex by which they themselves have been swallowed up. Some perish in early youth from the combined effect of bodily disease and mental anguish; others, grown bold in guilt, fall under the lash of the law, and waste their years in imprisonment or exile. The offspring of a once virtuous and happy family are thrown upon the streets, to pick up a precarious subsistence from charity or depredation; and, born in the midst of crime, they grow bolder as they advance, until the success of their attempts induces others to imitate their example.

All this proceeds, not from any unwonted or extraordinary depravity in the character of these victims of licentiousness, but from the almost irresistible nature of the temptations to which the poor are exposed. Doubtless all in every rank are by nature prone to corruption; but this inherent tendency to evil does not attach to one class of society more than another. The rich who censure their conduct would in all probability yield as rapidly as they have done to the influence

of similar causes. There is a certain degree of misery, a certain proximity to sin, which virtue is rarely able to withstand, and which the young in particular are generally unable to resist. The progress of vice in such circumstances is almost as certain, and often nearly as rapid as that of physical contagion; and it unfortunately too often happens, that the latter contamination, by ruining the resources of a family, and depressing their condition, brings them within the sphere of that moral infection which still more certainly destroys the minds of its members.

The higher orders, who are ignorant of the anatomy of crime, or of the real causes which undermine the virtue of the lowder orders, will probably exclaim that this picture is overcharged: but those who are really conversant with the condition of the poor will know that it is too well founded, and recognize, in the remarks that have now been made, much that has fallen under their own observation. And it is in such circumstances, that the benevolent expect that the poor are to be reformed by the pleasures of study, and the devout by the exhortations, often dry and to them unintelligible, of the pulpit.

In truth, a minute and practical acquaintance with the sources of temptation in crowded cities, leaves such an impression on the mind, as to render it almost desperate as to the success of every measure calculated to remove them. And what appears most striking, is the *obvious inefficacy* of the systems which are usually considered as best adapted to effect this object, and the limited operation of the principles which are relied on as sufficient to counterbalance *generally* these prevailing sources of corruption.

Or supposing that the temptations to which the

poor in great cities are exposed has not undermined the virtue of its members, the calamities to which they are unavoidably subject are frequently hardly less destructive of their habits and independence. The peculiar circumstance which presses with such severity upon the poor in such situations, is their assemblage, in large numbers, in situations where they are alike unknown to each other or to the higher orders. Nothing can be so dissimilar to the situation of the labouring classes in the country, as the circumstances in which they are placed in great towns. In the former, they are personally known to the landlords or farmers by whom they are employed; they often receive subsistence from him during health, and obtain aid or the allowance of time, in seasons of adversity; and they, in general, possess small pieces of ground, or receive payments in grain, which enable them to struggle through periods of distress or sickness, without the total loss of their property. Even if their employers should not be so indulgent, their neighbours, with whom they have spent their lives, are always ready to render them the aid which they may soon require at their hands. In such a simple and primitive form, the most serious calamities which befal the poor are unknown; and mutual assistance and forbearance mitigate the worst evils of life.

In all these respects, the situation of the poor in great cities is not only different but diametrically opposite from that of country labourers. Placed in the midst of an immense multitude, to whom they are utterly unknown, and employed by manufacturers who have hundreds of others in their pay, they have no resource to look to but the wages of their own labour.

The usual calamities of life, a fluctuation of wages, a protracted illness, or an accidental death, bring the property of the family to the pawnbrokers, and its members to the workhouse. The place of those who are thus depressed is instantly filled up by others in equally needy circumstances, and the victims of such misfortunes find it impracticable to regain the situation they have lost. Stern and inexorable creditors will grant them no delay; cruel landlords distrain their effects the moment the term day is past; profligate or squalid neighbours will sometimes render them no assistance. At length the continued experience of misery produces its usual and worst effect, in blunting the sensibility of its victims to their own suffering, and rendering them callous to circumstances of depression which misfortune has rendered habitual.

The voluntary charity of the affluent is utterly incapable of relieving distress where it exists in this extended scale. The accumulation of the poor in great numbers, in certain districts, banishes benevolence itself from their neighbourhood. The humane turn with horror from a mass of indigence which they find themselves utterly unable to relieve; the unfeeling forget the suffering of their brethren in their own selfish enjoyments. Year after year rolls on, without any other visitors entering these abodes of wretchedness but the benevolent, whom the feeling of pity has attracted, and the charitable, whom a sense of religion has guided. But, unless they possessed the wealth of the Indies, they would be unable to relieve the distress by which they are surrounded: and even if they were enabled to lavish it with the most unsparing hand, they could af-

ford no permanent relief, unless they possessed the means of changing the habits of the people.

All projects of relieving the miseries of the labouring classes in great cities, by voluntary contributions collected at church doors, are equally visionary and hopeless. In individual instances, under the management of enthusiastic benevolence, or with the aid of popular eloquence, sufficient funds may be raised in this way for the relief of the poor in city parishes. But not only are such talents or enthusiasm not generally to be looked for; but if they existed generally they would fail in their effects. If all the clergy in a populous city possessed the genius or the enthusiasm of a Chalmers, the contributions of the benevolent being distracted in so many quarters, would nowhere be adequate to their object. That distinguished individual succeeded in his own parish in Glasgow, by attracting the religious and enthusiastic from every part of that opulent city: it was the contrast between his genius and the monotonous uniformity of many of the clergy which occasioned his success. What he gained was lost in other quarters, where it was not less needed: in his own parish parochial assessment was not required, but it was only by rendering it the more necessary in those that surrounded it.

Accordingly, it is a fact extremely well worthy of observation, that even in Glasgow, where the progress of opulence for the last half century has been unprecedented in European annals, and equalled only in the far famed rapidity of transatlantic increase, and where the vast wealth of the richer classes has been poured forth with noble, it may be added unparalleled generosity for the relief of the poor, the inadequacy of all

such voluntary efforts has been fully experienced to relieve the constantly increasing sum of human suffering. All the principal charitable establishments, notwithstanding subscriptions of extraordinary liberality, have become deeply in debt, or are taking measures to procure the aid of public assessment for this exhausted or burdened fund; and the subscription even of forty thousand pounds, in six years, for church extension, so far from being able to diminish the formidable number of 66,000 human beings, for whom the Government Commissioners of 1838 reported there was no room in any place of public worship, of any persuasion, within the city or suburbs, has left the number of poor in such circumstances of spiritual destitution, *fifteen thousand* greater at this moment, than when this magnificent effort was commenced to give the blessings of Christianity to that hideous mass of civilized heathenism.*

* The city of Glasgow exhibits so extraordinary an example during the last fifty years of the progress of population, opulence, and all the external symptoms of prosperity, and at the same time of the utter inadequacy of all these resources to keep pace either with the moral or spiritual wants of the people, or provide adequate funds for the alleviation of their distresses, that it is deserving of particular consideration.

It appears from Dr Cleland's admirable Statistics of Glasgow, that the Population, Custom-House Duties, Harbour-Dues, and Post-Office Revenue of the city, have stood, in the under mentioned years, as follows:

Years.	Popula.	Custom-House Duties.	Harbour-Dues.	Post-Office.
1770,	31,000		L. 149 0 10	L. 33,771 0 0
1801,	83,769	L. 3,124 in 1812.	3,319 16 1	23,328 0 0
1831,	202,426	72,053 17 4	20,296 18 5	35,642 0 0
1839,	290,000	468,974 12 2	45,287 16 10	47,527 0 0

This prodigious increase is probably unprecedented in any other country in Europe during the same or perhaps any other period, and

It is a mistake to suppose that the eloquence of a popular preacher or benevolent philanthropist always

a parallel to it is only to be found in the transatlantic provinces. It is a fact well worthy of observation, that the progress of population in New York from 1820 to 1830, was as nearly as possible the same as that of Glasgow from 1830 to 1840; both cities at the commencement of the respective periods having 200,000 inhabitants, and having increased to 290,000 at their close. (Chevalier's America, ii. 147.) Here then, if anywhere, was to be found an example where, in consequence of the prodigious and unprecedented prosperity of the place, ample scope was afforded for the voluntary system, whether in religious instruction or temporal relief. And that the merchants of Glasgow are at least equal to any in Europe, in the benevolence and liberality with which, on all important occasions, they come forward for the relief of the distress by which they are surrounded, or for any purpose of public charity or munificence, is amply proved by the following list of subscriptions by them annually, or for the last seven years.

For Church Extension, . .	L.42,300
House of Refuge for young Criminals, .	14,800
Female House of Refuge, . .	4,800
Normal School, . . .	4,900
Infirmary annually, L. 4500 in 7 years,	31,500
Wellington Testimonial, . .	9,500
Relief of poor in 1837, . .	7,000
In 7 years,	L.114,800

Nevertheless, so far are these splendid subscriptions from being able to keep pace with the progress of destitution and suffering in Glasgow, that, as already mentioned, there are no less than eighty thousand persons for whom there is no accommodation whatever for attending any place of religious worship, of whatever persuasion, in the city and suburbs. About L. 20,000 a-year are levied for the support of the poor in the city and suburbs, in addition to innumerable private charities, and much individual beneficence. Yet in spite of all this munificence the following is the account given of the state of the most destitute part of the community, by two most competent observers, whose valuable works, well-known to the public, have gained for them both an extensive and well-earned reputation. "Glasgow exhibits," says the able and indefatigable Dr Cowan, "a frightful state of mortality, unequalled, perhaps, in any city in Britain. The prevalence of fever presents obstacles to the promotion of social improvement among the lower classes, and is productive of an amount of human misery credible only to those who have wit-

creates the charity which is collected at his orations. He often rather *collects it* from other quarters, and ex-

nessed it."—(Cowan's Vital Statistics of Glasgow, p. 14.) The extraordinary progress of mortality which has, as already shown, declined from 1 in 41 in 1823 to 1 in 24 in 1837, while the annual average mortality of London is about 1 in 36, and over all England 1 in 51, affords too melancholy a confirmation of this observation. And the following is the account given of the Glasgow poor, by a very intelligent observer, Mr Symonds, the Government Commissioner for examining into the condition of the hand-loom weavers. "The wynds in Glasgow comprise a fluctuating population of from 15,000 to 30,000 persons. This quarter consists of a labyrinth of lanes, out of which numberless entrances lead into small square courts, each with a dunghill reeking in the centre. Revolting as was the outward appearance of these places, I was little prepared for the filth and destitution within. In some of these lodging-rooms (visited at night), we found a whole lair of human beings littered along the floor, sometimes fifteen and twenty, some clothed and some naked; men, women, and children, huddled promiscuously together. Their bed consisted of a layer of musty straw intermixed with rags. There was generally little or no furniture in these places; the sole article of comfort was a fire. Thieving and prostitution constitute the main sources of the revenue of this population. No pains seem to be taken to purge this Augean pandemonium; this nucleus of crime, filth, and pestilence, existing in the centre of the second city of the empire. These wynds constitute the St Giles of Glasgow; but I owe an apology to the metropolitan pandemonium for the comparison. A very extensive inspection of the lowest districts of other places, both here and on the continent, never presented anything one-half so bad, either in intensity of pestilence, physical and moral, or in extent proportioned to the population."—(Arts and Artisans at Home and Abroad. By J. C. Symonds, Esq. p. 116, et seq.)

The author is compelled to say, that these observations of Mr Symonds perfectly coincide with what has long fallen under his own notice; and, in fact, the general state of destitution, intoxication, and misery which prevail among the abject poor in these wynds of Glasgow, is such as would exceed belief, to those who do not see it judicially established every week in the year, by the concurring testimony of great numbers of witnesses. While, at the same time, he has the utmost pleasure in bearing this public testimony to the splendid progress and magnificent liberality of the citizens of Glasgow,—a city with which the author is proud to be officially connected, and to the kindness of whose leading men he is indebted for perhaps the happiest, and, he hopes he may add, the most useful part of his life.

hibits in one united stream what would otherwise have flowed unnoticed in a thousand rills. Under the impulse of the moment, indeed, larger sums may often be obtained from congregations affected by such thrilling efforts, than they would be disposed to give at ordinary times; but the reaction is frequently as powerful as the impulse, and what is gained to the cause of humanity in a moment of enthusiasm is lost in the periods of calculation that succeed it. True benevolence does not require such excitation, nor is it subject to such irregular movements, but at all times seeks the relief of distress from no other motive but the desire to alleviate human suffering.

It is in vain to found any general or permanent system for the relief of the poor upon any exertions of talent or philanthropy beyond the average experience of our nature. Individuals may be endowed with splendid abilities or warm benevolence, and by their exertions much may be done to mitigate the distress that surrounds them. But it is in vain to found any general measures upon the achievement of such rare ability. Generally speaking, the clergy will continue much the same as they have been; numbering among their members many persons distinguished both for their virtues and their learning, but, at the same time, composed of a vast majority of ordinary men. Persons relieved from the necessity of exertion to earn their daily food, of middle age, and enjoying for the most part a decent competence, cannot be expected to be always distinguished by extraordinary efforts. The permanent and extensive evils of pauperism must be relieved from some other source than that which is dependent upon their exertions.

The education of the people is generally looked to as the only effectual antidote to the accumulated evils which manufacturing or commercial wealth entail upon the lower orders; but there is too much reason to fear that it is totally unequal to the task. That the instruction of the labouring classes is a great public benefit, and that the general prosperity is immensely benefited by the talent which it brings to bear upon the fortunes of the state, is self-evident: but if, in addition to this, it is expected that the enjoyments of knowledge are to counteract, in the *majority* of the lowers orders, the desire for gratifications of a baser kind, or to check the growth of vicious desires in the active as well as the speculative part of mankind, effects are anticipated from its diffusion contrary alike to reason and experience.

If any man were to propose by a system of education to counteract the passions, or give a new direction to the desires of the *higher orders* generally, he would be immediately regarded as a visionary enthusiast. All the world knows, that the charms of science or the attractions of philosophy will never divert the great majority of the higher orders from the sports of the field, or the amusements of the metropolis. If any person were to propose by such inducements to make fox-hunting forgotten, or Almacks deserted, every body would know what success might be expected from his exertions. Experience has sufficiently demonstrated, that although some of the higher orders are men of a thoughtful or speculative turn, who prefer the researches of philosophy to the excitation of amusement, the great majority are dif-

ferently constituted, and can feel an interest only in those boisterous exercises or trifling occupations which form the ordinary employment of men of fashion.

Now, if this be admitted in regard to the affluent members of society, what rational ground is there for supposing that the enjoyments of study will be appreciated by a wider circle among the labouring classes; or that the proportion of the human race, who are qualified by Nature to take an interest in such pursuits, is *greater* in the lower than the higher orders? Intoxication, gaming, and sexual indulgence constitute the excitation of the lower orders; they are within the reach of every labouring man; and their seductions are brought to his door in every large city. If the great majority of the higher ranks, upon whom education has lavished all her treasures, and taste opened all her refinements, can be roused only by the stimulus of physical passion, or the animation of bodily exercise, what ground is there for supposing that the lower orders, who are doomed by necessity to a life of labour, will be more intellectual in their pleasures? The desire for information, and the enjoyments of study, it is well known, increase in a most extraordinary manner with the acquisition of knowledge, and are never found in so high a degree as among those who are best informed. Is it to be supposed that the scanty education which the poor are able to give their children before they are harnessed to the labour of life, is to diffuse the perception of the delights of knowledge to a greater degree, than the long years of academical education which are bestowed upon the rich? Are the seductions of

vice more powerful among the great, who have all the enjoyments of life at their command, and are far removed from the contagion of sin, than among the poor, who are frequently deprived of every gratification, but those which flow from licentiousness, and are doomed to meet its votaries every time they cross their threshold? Or is a life of labour which exhausts the frame, and deadens every desire but that for physical stimulants, a better preparation for the enjoyments of science than the luxurious indolence which requires mental exertion to relieve its uniformity?

There is often, in fact, no material difference between the enjoyments of the highest ranks, and those of the rudest stages of society. If the life of many young English noblemen, and an Iroquois in the forest, or an Arab in the desert are compared, it will be found that their real sources of happiness are nearly the same. The treasures of science, the refinements of taste, the luxuries of wealth, are in many cases disregarded or forgotten, and the real excitation of life depends upon the destruction of wild animals, or the management of impetuous steeds. This is a fact which is matter of daily observation, and it furnishes a most instructive lesson, as to the proportion established by nature between the active and the speculative part of mankind. The great majority in every class of society are incapable of receiving happiness from any other source but physical excitation; and every plan for human improvement which is founded on any other supposition will necessarily fail. Nor is it without good reason, that Nature has established this disproportion between the studious and the active part of the species. The great mass of undertakings essential to the exist-

ence and the welfare of mankind, depend on physical exertion; and, unless the greater part of our fellow creatures were disposed to that species of labour, and gratified with the enjoyments that attend it, the race would speedily perish, and the speculations of science disappear with the individuals who formed them.

It is from not attending to this fundamental truth that so many futile projects have in every age been formed, for the improvement or amelioration of the species. Men of studious or thoughtful habits suppose, that mankind generally will be influenced by the considerations, and feel the desires by which they themselves are actuated, forgetting that their habits form the exception rather than the rule, and that, if they had been generally adopted, the race would never have emerged from the woods. It is only by observing the average and ordinary character of human nature, that measures can be fallen upon calculated for general operation; it is only by developing the desires which are common to all mankind, that general improvement can be effected.

The truth of this is signally exemplified in the opinions which are commonly entertained on the subject of education. It is usual to hear public instruction recommended as the grand remedy for the evils of pauperism and insubordination even among the factories of Great Britain, or the bogs of Ireland. But, as an able French writer has observed, "Education est peu de chose pour les hommes qui sont aux prises avec les premiers besoins de la vie."* A certain degree of physical privation, a certain intensity of physical suffering, renders the mind totally

* Michaux, Hist. des Crois. viii. 426.

insensible to any other pleasures than those which are calculated to assuage the wants of the moment. If any man doubts this, let him walk thirty miles, and then set to mental enjoyments with what appetite he may. The same truth was exemplified during the retreat of the French army in Russia, where the steadiness and humanity of the oldest soldiers yielded to the severity of present distress.* If the English factory poor or Irish peasants are ever to be improved, it must be from the operation of causes more general in their effects than public education, and by the adoption of a more feasible expedient than inculcating the pleasures of science upon a debased or starving population.

"The example of public schools, where the elements of scientific knowledge are explained to intelligent and studious crowds of mechanics, are usually referred to as illustrating the possibility of rendering the pleasures of knowledge accessible even to the lowest classes of society. It might as well be said that because *twenty* duxes out of two hundred boys at a public school are good scholars, therefore it is possible to make *all boys* appreciate the enjoyments of classical learning. It is the *elite* of the labouring classes who come to such places of study. Upon them the means of instruction which are afforded produce the most important and beneficial effects: and their habits for life will probably be materially influenced by the power of enjoying them. But they do not constitute a tenth part of the labouring classes. For one who comes to such places of public instruction, ten will frequent the spirit-cellar, the gaming-house, or the brothel. Let every facility, therefore, be given to the instruction of the la-

* Segur, ii. p. 274.

bouring classes, and from such exertions a *great* improvement in a *limited number* of them may reasonably be anticipated. But let us not expect that the great body of the people are to be ameliorated by measures adapted for the ablest of their members; or imagine that we have done enough for the poor, when we have merely given them the means of learning what a tenth of their number only can either appreciate or understand.

Scotland is frequently referred to as exemplifying upon a considerable scale the influence of general education upon the character of the people. But, in truth, while it illustrates the blessings of education, it demonstrates not less strongly its inefficacy to arrest the progress of evil in a complicated state of society. In the rural districts, where the temptations to irregularity are small, the people are religious, moral, and well-informed: and from all classes men of talent and vigour are continually arising, whose exertions have a material influence on the public welfare. But in the great manufacturing cities the progress of vice has been as rapid as in the worst educated countries. In the contest with whisky in their crowded population education has been utterly overthrown. It is no doubt true, that, in Glasgow and Edinburgh, from six to fourteen hundred mechanics are to be found who attend lectures on scientific subjects, with pleasure and advantage, and humanity has much reason to rejoice at such assemblages; but it is not less true, that in each of these cities thirty or forty thousand workmen exist who have hardly any enjoyments but those of the senses, and who, so far from being refined in their habits by the education which they have received, and the means

of farther instruction which they enjoy, are more addicted to the grossest intemperance than any people, except the Swedes and Norwegians, in Europe. Amongst the educated weavers of Glasgow three times the number of public-houses are to be found, in proportion to the population, than exists in London or Paris.* In no city of the empire has the progress of vice been so rapid, or the demoralization of the labouring classes so extensive. In 1808, five criminals stood their trial at the spring assizes: in spring 1828, *one hundred and fifteen* were indicted, of whom no less than 75 received sentence of transportation.† The great majority of these unhappy persons had received a good education; and this remarkable increase of crime took place at a time when the diffusion of instruction was more general than at any former period. Serious crime in Lanarkshire is now (1840) advancing at the rate of *52 per cent.* every three years: in other words, it doubles in about five years and a half, while population doubles in about thirty years; so that crime is increasing *six times* as fast as the numbers of the people.‡ And so extraordinary and alarming has the progress of crime for the last thirty years in this part of the island been, that it appears from the Parliamentary reports, that the criminal committals have increased from 89 annually

* Justice-Clerk's Speech, Glasgow, April 1828.

† Glasgow Assizes, April 1828, when the author acted as counsel for the Crown in all the cases.

‡ Committals in Lanarkshire for serious and transportable crimes:

In 1836,	-	401
1837,	-	451
1838,	-	563
1839,	-	606

—Parl. Reports of Crime for these years. (For the county of Lanark, they were compiled by the author, as part of his official duty.)

in 1810, to 3176 in 1837;* a rapidity of increase probably unexampled in Europe at this time, and which amply justifies the observation of the celebrated statistician, Moreau: "The number of individuals charged with serious offences is in England *five* times greater than it was thirty years ago; in Ireland *six* times; but in Scotland *twenty-nine times.*"†

In England it has been completely established, by the evidence laid before several Parliamentary committees, that the education of the lower orders has had no effect whatever in checking the progress of crime.‡ It has altered its direction in many instances, and substituted inroads on property for personal violence; but if the nature of the offences has become less atrocious, the number of the criminals has been immensely increased, and their character more completely depraved. Vice is not so much the result of a momentary passion, as of settled inclination; and punishment is inflicted, not for a deviation from the usual course of life, but for the habits which have formed it. A Chief-Justice of England, in the reign of Edward IV., boasted of the bold and manly qualities which distinguished the English highwayman: but it would be difficult to find any grounds for national exultation in the character of the thieves who are daily transported at the Old Bailey.

It is not to be supposed from these observations, that education is not a prodigious public benefit, or that the most important consequences both upon the progress of opulence, the maintenance of order, and

* Porter's Parl. Tables, 1837, 128.

† Moreau, Stat. de la Grande Bretagne, ii. 297.

‡ Report on Crime, 1828. Evidence before Combination Committee, 1838, p. 97—169.

the laws of population, do not flow from its general diffusion. These consequences have been already fully illustrated.* It is only necessary in this place to point out the limits within which these benefits must, from the constitution of human nature, be confined; and to guard against the serious error of supposing that the elevation of the intelligent and gifted part of the labouring classes can materially alter the condition of the multitudes who must remain behind: or that the attractions of vice can be generally combated by enjoyments which can be felt only by a small portion of the community.

Is then the cause of the lower orders in great cities utterly desperate? Is the progress of wealth necessarily attended with the degradation of the labouring classes? And is the corruption of the great base of society one of the means by which national decline is inevitably introduced, and the revolutions of the social system prepared?

In truth, the causes of depravity in the advanced stages of society are so numerous, and the seductions of vice in crowded situations so powerful, that reason may frequently be led to despair of the fortunes of the species in such situations; and philosophy to look upon the decay of political bodies, like that of individuals, as preparing the regeneration of mankind in more youthful forms, and from purer sources.

But experience may perhaps lead to the conclusion that the situation of the lower orders in such circumstances is not wholly desperate, and that the means devised for their improvement have chiefly failed from

* Vol. i. p. 86—104.

not duly considering the character of the people for whom they were intended.

The most important steps which have hitherto been taken for the relief of the lower orders, are addressed to their *understandings*. The diffusion of education, the dissemination of religious instruction, the enforcement of moral duties, are intended to influence the reason, or rouse the conscience of the people. Upon many, no doubt, such means possess a powerful influence; and their example must have an extensive effect on the rising generation. But a large proportion of the lower orders are at all times, and more especially in a complicated state of society, wholly inaccessible to such considerations. They are not naturally depraved, nor much more addicted to vicious habits than their more fortunate brethren. But they become so by the mediocrity of their understandings, compared with the vehemence of their passions. This inequality renders them unable to withstand the contagion of bad example, so much more rapid in its communication than the influence of good conduct. The reason is obvious. The gratifications of vice are *immediate*, its pains, though certain, are remote: the enjoyments of virtue are *distant*, its sacrifices obvious and instantaneous. The rational and strong-minded are able to perceive the superiority of the latter to the former, and to resist present temptation from a view to future advantage: but the great body of mankind cannot make such a sacrifice, and forget the strongest denunciations of ultimate danger in the intoxication or indulgence of the moment. It is among this class, so numerous in great cities, that the spread of folly and sensuality is so rapid; and the important ques-

tion comes to be, How *is this class* to be preserved from their seductions?

It is altogether in vain to expect that either religious or moral considerations will possess general influence over this class, until a great change is effected in their habits. The reason is, not that they are irrevocably wicked, but that they are accustomed to attend to nothing but *present indulgence*. Enforce the duties of religion, or the dangers of sin as strongly as possible on their minds; numbers of them will rise from the lecture with an undiminished passion for ardent spirits, or an increased desire for the pleasures of gaming. All the efforts of philanthropy, all the terrors of punishment, all the exhortations of religion, will neither thin the streets of their prostitutes, nor the spirit-cellars of their revellers, nor the gaming-houses of their haunters. Wretches just escaped from jail, hasten to perpetrate the crimes of which they have narrowly escaped the penalty: in the crowds which assemble to witness the last agonies of a malefactor, his companions find the best opportunity of renewing his enormities. Upon such men, the terrors of futurity, whether in this world or the next, are utterly lost: for a pint of spirits, or a throw of the dice, they would, like their German forefathers, stake their freedom or their existence.*

In the cultivation of the earth, we do not expect that useful crops will thrive until the soil is carefully prepared by labour, and its qualities improved by manure. It is the same with the mind. The habit of yielding to present indulgence must be combated, the power of self-command acquired, the faculty of looking into the future in some degree developed, before

* Tacitus de Mor. Germ.

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the soil is prepared either for moral or religious cultivation.

If we would learn how these changes are to be produced in individuals, we have only to attend to the process by which the same change is effected by Nature in society. It is not by moral lectures, or learned treatises, or the enjoyments of understanding, that she raises men from the grossness and improvidence of savage manners; it is by awakening new desires and developing other inclinations, that the habits of civilized life are induced, and that labour rendered familiar which is at first so much the object of detestation. It is *by enlisting the active propensities on the side of virtue and self-denial,* that the wonders of civilisation are prepared; and each individual who contributes to this mighty change, is conscious only of following his own interest, and striving to gratify his increasing desires. And it is not till men have acquired the habit of attending to the future with a view to their desires, that she requires them to do so to effect their improvement: moral and religious instruction in her system *follow* and not *precede* the march of civilisation; the arts of life take the lead of its instruction. It was not till the civilisation of the ancient world was completed, that religious information was revealed to the great body of mankind; and when it did come, it was not on the frontiers of barbarism that it appeared, but in the centre of improvement, on the confines of Grecian art and Egyptian learning; midway between the wealth of Persia and the discipline of Rome.

It is from not attending to this circumstance, that so little success has attended the benevolent exertions of the friends of Christianity in endeavouring to diffuse a knowledge of its blessings through the remote parts

of the world. The precepts of the gospel require, with a view to the next world, exactly what reason and experience prove to be necessary in this, viz. the sacrifice of the *present* from a regard to the *future*. Present gratifications must be relinquished, objects of immediate desire abandoned, from a feeling of duty or a sense of their ultimate danger. But the power of doing this, is one of the latest acquisitions of the human mind. Individuals, indeed, in all ages will be found, who, under the influence of enthusiasm, mortify the passions of the world to the visions of fanaticism; but this is not the performance of religious duty; it is the substitution of one strong passion for another. The precepts of religion require a totally different course; the discharge of duty, the exercise of benevolence, the control of the passions, without any other reward than the pleasure of doing so. Such a religion can never spread generally, except among men who have acquired the power of looking to the future, and controling present desire from considerations of ultimate advantage. This power can be gained only by habit, and this habit must be acquired in the pursuits of the objects of civilized life. A certain degree of civilisation, therefore, and a certain habit of controlling the present from the prospect of the future, is indispensable towards the establishment of a religion which requires such sacrifices: for men must begin with paying some regard to futurity in this world, before they will be durably influenced by its prospect in the next.

In all ages, indeed, and in all parts of the world, the belief in Supreme Beings, and the feeling of the obligation to worship them, is to be found among mankind. But the religion of savage life is as dissimilar from the precepts of Christianity, as its habits

are from those of polished society. It consists always in the belief, that by the obedience to certain forms, or by the performance of certain sacrifices, the Divine favour may be propitiated without the abandonment of guilty pleasures; and it springs from the desire to enjoy the good things of this world without losing those of the next. The nominal conversion of savage states to the Christian faith, works no change in this general propensity: the new religion is too often moulded to the ideas of the people who have embraced it; the intercession of saints or martyrs is substituted for the worship of imaginary deities; form and ceremony still supply the place of moral obedience. A thousand years after the establishment of Christianity among such nations, its truths are hardly to be discovered amongst them; and the principles of the enlightened differ as much from the creed of the vulgar, as from the worship of heathen states. And of the fact, that the habit of regarding the future must begin with this world before it is extended to the next, decisive proof is to be found in the well known circumstance, that, with the exception of a few sublime passages in the book of Job, hardly any distinct enunciation of the immortality of the soul is to be found in the Old Testament; and that, at the advent of our Saviour, it was a disputed point among the Jews, whether or not the soul existed after death.

Now, in every opulent and civilized community, as at present constituted, a considerable proportion of the lower orders are decidedly inferior in moral habits and intellectual acquirement to the rudest inhabitants of the globe. This is a painful fact, and the enunciation of it will be unpalatable; but those who really have the improvement of their fellow-creatures at

heart will announce the truth, even though it may prove disagreeable. They will say with Themistocles, " Strike, but hear me." A considerable part of society, in such periods, wear the dress, indeed, and eat the food, and submit to the labour of civilized life; but their habits are as gross, their desires as sensual, their foresight as small, as in the woods of America. In personal or mental vigour, in varied information, in elevation of character, they are miserably inferior to their savage brethren. Not less devoted to sensual indulgence; as careless of the future, as incapable of thought, they move in a narrower sphere, and are the slaves of more contracted habits. Doubtless, there are many elevated and exemplary individuals, and happy and virtuous families in those classes of men: it is to the majority that these observations apply. Compare a Manchester weaver, a Glasgow operative, or an iron-worker of Birmingham, with an American savage, and the dreadful influence of civilisation upon the character of the bulk of the lower orders will be too often apparent. Without going so far as a benevolent and intelligent divine of the Church of England, who affirmed that there were, in 1822, *seven hundred and sixty thousand unconverted Pagans in the city of London,** it may safely be affirmed, that the degradation of character, the grossness of habit, the licentiousness of life, which prevail in a majority of the inhabitants of all the great European cities, are not exceeded in any part of the habitable globe.

Within the distance of a few miles, in an European metropolis, are placed the utmost limits of knowledge and ignorance, of virtue and vice, of happiness and misery, of refinement and brutality. Between

* Yates on the Poor of London, p. 272.

these extremes every intermediate degree is to be found. The benevolent among the higher orders, who labour for the good of the poor, belong to the enlightened and refined class; and they prescribe for the lower the remedies which they feel would be efficacious upon themselves. Upon a certain number of the labouring classes, these measures produce the most admirable effects; upon the great majority they are as completely lost, as if they were applied to the most savage nation upon earth.

The only way to produce any permanent effect upon the character and habits of the unreflecting and sensual part of the community, is to turn *their desires* into a better channel. It is *by enlisting the active propensities on the side of virtue and prudence*, that the evils of civilisation can most effectually be counteracted in the great mass of mankind. The passions which mislead being generally felt, the enjoyments which seduce immediately accessible, the habit of instant indulgence universal,—the counteracting principles, to be as powerful, must be *as general.* It is in vain to combat evils of such universal agency, by countervailing principles whose influence is only partially felt. If the passions of the multitude are roused by inflammatory speeches addressed to them in their mother tongue, it is idle to suppose they will be calmed by sedative harangues delivered in the learned languages.

The streets of London are nightly infested by thousands and ten thousands of unfortunate females, whom vice has seduced or passion misled, and subsequent habits depraved. A number are rescued by the charity of the benevolent, and lodged in asylums where moral and religious instruction are sedulously applied to their minds. A few are reformed and re-

conciled to their friends; nine-tenths are discharged at their own request, from being unable to endure the monotony of their situation. The horrors of famine, the feeling of desolation, the brutality of passion, the pangs of disease, are less intolerable in their estimation, than life without excitation.

The most depraved of the same class are convicted at the Old Bailey, and transported for a life of wickedness. Married in New South Wales, their habits sometimes undergo a total revolution: the scenes of riot and intoxication in which they formerly dwelt, are exchanged for an unvarying scene of labour and usefulness; maternal feelings are awakened in their bosoms by the birth of their offspring; the habits and recollections of infancy revive with the recurrence of the scenes which awakened them; the pleasures of virtue, in some cases, come to supersede the delirium of crime; and from the refuse of the streets of London may spring a race of statesmen and heroes, the Franklins and Washingtons of the southern hemisphere.*

In all the great cities of the empire, a crowd of profligate young men are to be found, who are born in the midst of licentiousness, and trained to the commission of crime from their earliest years. The precepts of morality, the exhortations of religion, the prospect of punishment, are totally inadequate to restrain them from habits of sensuality, or deter them from the commission of offences. A few may be reclaimed by the endeavours of the pious, or rescued by the assist-

* Cunningham, New South Wales, i. p. 142. The author is well aware how few, how very few, of this unhappy class can be so reformed, even in this way: his position is that, few as they may be, they are at least ten times more numerous than can be reclaimed in any other manner.

ance of the humane; the great majority are as incapable of being permanently affected by such means, as the inmates of bedlam or the victims of pestilence.

Transport the same men to New South Wales, or place them in the army or navy, and their active propensities often take a new direction. Deprived of the means of pursuing their licentious practices, compelled to exertion in a different line, actuated by a new set of desires, their characters are gradually but in many cases permanently changed. The restlessness which formerly prompted to crime is now subdued by labour; the craving which once led to indulgence is gradually extirpated by the impossibility of gratifying it; the energy which was before exerted in the commission of depredation is now devoted to the formation of property. From the most depraved class of the community, intrepid soldiers and active citizens are ultimately formed, and the state may one day number among its boldest defenders, or class with its most useful members, many of the descendants of those whom punishment has rescued from an ignominious death.

Nor is it only in the lower orders that the same truths are exemplified. Observe the fashionable streets of London. Can imagination conceive a more frivolous or apparently selfish set of men than the persons who frequent them? Pleasure, amusement, and excitation, seem to constitute the sole object of life: morality and religion are alike forgotten in the ardent pursuit of enjoyments. Place the same men in scenes of danger; entrust them with important political or social duties, compel them to act for themselves in trying situations, and their character is instantly changed: talent, hi-

therto dormant, is awakened; ambition, as yet unfelt, is roused; hereditary glories are recollected; and the idlers of the metropolis are transformed into the heroes of Hougomont.

In the corresponding class in the other sex, a similar change may, from the like causes, be daily perceived. Attend to the life of the women of rank or fashion in the capital. Amusement at its outset generally seems the only object of desire; sense and reason are often banished from their circles; fashion or frivolity are sometimes exclusively worshipped. Follow the same individuals through subsequent years, when marriage has changed their place of abode, and maternal feelings have been awakened by the endearments of their offspring, and no traces of the same character will appear. Instruction, forgotten in youth, is now sedulously revived; religion, whose voice was well nigh extinct, regains its influence; months of frivolity are compensated by years of duty, and the dignity and usefulness of the summer of life often redeems the dissipation of its commencement.

Examples of this sort point to the real mode by which, with the aid of higher influences, the active and impetuous part of mankind are to be saved from the contagion of great cities. It is not by addressing the same motives to their minds which prevail with the studious or thoughtful, that anything can be expected. It is by furnishing other objects of desire to counterbalance the seductions of vice; by forming habits inconsistent with the enjoyments of sin; *by turning the active propensities into a better channel*, that the transformation is to be effected, and the minds prepared for moral and religious instruction. To *commence* with such in-

struction will generally be found as futile as to cast seeds upon the arid rock.

Nothing can be farther from the intention of the author, than to undervalue, by these observations, the importance of the religious and moral cultivation of the minds of the working-classes, or to insinuate that it is by temporal influences alone, or setting one desire or gratification against another, that the evils of great cities are to be remedied. Unquestionably, it is by higher considerations that the ascendant of sin is, in the end, to be overcome; and the author's meaning must have been ill expressed, indeed, if he has not made it apparent in every part of this work, that it is to religious tuition, and the sway of the Gospel, that he looks ultimately for the only effectual reformation of the individual, the only real regeneration of society. But admitting that Christianity is the seed of life, the question here under discussion is, how is the moral soil to be *prepared for its reception?* Education and instruction, the building of churches, and the efforts of zealous ministers of religion, are the means usually pointed out to effect this object, and confidently relied on as adequate to its attainments. The author would be happy, indeed, if he could arrive at the conclusion, that the moral evils of civilisation are capable of being overcome by the unaided efforts of such exalted benevolence. But the experience of twenty years, passed in close proximity to, and daily official investigation into, the crimes and depravity of the working-classes, joined to long reflection on the causes of individual and national corruption, has led to the firm belief, that such means *alone*, however powerful with a portion, are insufficient as an antidote to vicious indulgence, with a large part of the poor in great cities and manufacturing

communities, at least as they are at present situated; that they are calculated to affect of themselves, and in the outset only, the thoughtful and intellectual, that is, a small portion of mankind; that the great bulk must be got at by inducing better habits through the perception of immediate *enjoyments divested of the intermixture of sin;* that it is thus that the soil in the majority of instances is to be prepared for the reception of higher influences, which alone can in truth purify the heart, and the sway of the real causes of reformation; and that it is by overlooking the necessity of this *previous cultivation,* that the progress of vice and depravity has hitherto been so interrupted, and the melancholy example been so long exhibited, of a continual increase of crime and guilty habits, in the midst of the most strenuous efforts for spiritual improvement.

The true way, in short, to improve the habits, or ameliorate the condition of the poor in great cities, is to *furnish them with the means of feeling the enjoyments of virtue and industry.* For those who are depraved, the only course is to withdraw them from the pleasures of vice, till those of good conduct have been experienced; and thus prepare them for the reception of spiritual influences, and the durable sway of religion and virtuous habits. How to effect these objects, with a crowded and indigent population, in great or commercial cities, is, indeed, a matter of extreme difficulty. But the exertions of benevolence are unwearied, and with the call for increased efforts, the spirit of Christian charity has generally been found to expand.

It cannot be expected, that in a work of this description, a minute detail of the mode of relieving the poor, in a complicated state of society, should be attempted.

If the principles are once understood, their application in particular circumstances will be readily suggested by the experience or the discernment of the benevolent. A few general observations will sufficiently point out their application to some of the most important measures designed for the relief of public distress, or the prevention of private delinquency.

I.—The passions which are most strongly felt in all stages of society are those for ardent spirits, for gaming, and for sexual indulgence. In northern latitudes, the first is the great source of corruption; in southern, the influence of the two last is found to be most powerful. In London, Dublin, and Edinburgh, nine-tenths of the crime which exists may be directly traced to the indulgence in spirits: in Paris, gaming is found to be the great source of corruption: in Vienna, Venice, Rome, and Naples, the unbounded licence of sexual intercourse constitutes the chief cause of demoralization. These passions are *natural* propensities; they spring from the physical wants or desire of excitation which is common to all mankind; and they form in consequence the sources of evil which affect man in the rudest stages of society, or in the lowest ranks of life.

It is a mistake, however, to suppose, that the habit of intoxication, however general and lamentable in such latitudes, is the *necessary* effect of a cold or rainy climate. In Scotland, prior to the Reformation, the use of ardent spirits was almost unknown, or they were used only like liqueurs at the tables of the great, in small quantities, after meals.* Ale or mead constituted the strongest beverage of the people; and

* Tytler's Hist. ii. 274.

they are accordingly represented as in general use by Sir Walter Scott, in the reign of Robert III.* Till the middle of the last century, ale and French wine were habitually drank by the Scottish people; and malt liquor still constitutes the general and favourite beverage of the English peasantry. It was the ruinous measure of augmenting the duties on malt in the commencement of the revolutionary war, followed up by the still more disastrous reduction of the duties on British spirits in 1826, which substituted whisky for ale in the consumption of Scotland, and so materially increased the use of gin in the English cities; a fatal step which even the subsequent increase of the duty would take long to retrieve, for experience proves, that, when the passion for spirits is once excited, it is hardly possible to get it abandoned.

Perhaps there never was a measure which, though well intended, has turned out so ruinous to the lower orders, as the reduction of the duties on spirits in 1826, especially in Scotland, where the duties, by a strange and groundless exemption, are only three-fifths of those paid in England. By lowering the tax to one-third of its former amount, the means of intoxication for *twopence* in Scotland, or *threepence* in England, have been brought to every man's door. The effect of this in increasing the consumption of spirits has been most important. The quantity of spirits that paid duty in Ireland in 1823, was 3,982,000 gallons; in 1837, it had increased to 12,248,000: the quantity in England in the first year was 1,976,000; in the last it was 7,875,000.† This prodigious increase has done

* Maid of Perth, by Sir Walter Scott.

† Porter's Parl. Tables for 1837, 24. Marshall's Tables, 109.

more to demoralize the lower orders than any other measure in the memory of man. It is amply sufficient to account for the great increase in the amount of crime during the same period. The number of persons that were committed in England in 1823 was 12,263; in 1837, it had increased to 23,612. In Scotland the number committed for serious offences in 1823 was 1479; in 1837, it was 3126.* In Glasgow and Edinburgh the number of crimes has been more than quadrupled since the reduction of the duties on ardent spirits.

The concurring testimony of all the official persons who have been examined before the committees of the House of Commons, demonstrates that this great increase in delinquency is mainly owing to the increased use of spirituous liquors.† In Scotland, it may safely be affirmed that four-fifths, probably seven-eighths, of the crimes which are committed originate in the effects of, or the desire for, whisky. Not only are the interior of families disgraced by an incessant recurrence of drunken habits, assaults and brawls of every description, multiplied by the facility of procuring this ruinous indulgence, but the incessant craving for it is the strongest incentive to the commission of crime. The habit of intoxication both disqualifies the frame for hard labour, and unfits the mind for regular occupation; while the lassitude and depression which it leaves call loudly for a renewal of the stimulus. The assemblage of the young and the profligate of both sexes, in public-houses, at once furnishes the means

* Porter's Parl. Tables, i. 135, and for 1837, p. 119, 127; and Moreau, ii. 289, 297.

† See in particular that before the Combination Committee in 1838, p. 97, 142.

of concerting plans of depredation, and offers the strongest inducements to their commission. The motives which lead to crimes are apparent from the gratifications which immediately follow them: articles of great value, obtained by theft or robbery, are instantly pawned to procure drink, or deposited with the keepers of spirit-cellars for the license to enjoy them; and the female associates of the delinquents reward their hardihood by indulgencies of another sort, and extract from their passions, finery to entrap others into the ways of sin.

That government should have been induced, by the desire of augmenting the revenue, or the laudable wish of preventing the disorders of smuggling, to make the reduction which has led to these disastrous effects, is by no means surprising. They were not anticipated except by men practically acquainted with the habits of the poor, and had been doubted by philosophers of the highest eminence. Mr Smith had adduced the example of the wine provinces of France, to prove that where wine is cheap, it ceases to be an object of desire: forgetting that in warm climates the passion for intoxicating liquors does not exist to the degree that prevails in the regions of the north, and that spirits are here sought for, not because vines are few, but because clouds are many.*

That the reduction of the duties on spirits, however, should have been seriously commended by subsequent writers of unquestionable ability, after its effects had manifested themselves, is one of the most extraordinary instances of the influence of the love of system in perverting the human judgment, and

* Wealth of Nations, ii. 137.

will probably be ranked by future ages, with the paradox concerning the non-residence of the Irish landlords, as one of the most curious examples of human delusion that the history of mankind has afforded. What should we think, if it were seriously proposed to raise a portion of the revenue, by increasing the sale of a sweet and intoxicating species of *arsenic* among the poor? Yet, such a measure would be incomparably less detrimental than the reduction of the duties on spirituous liquors, for the first only destroys the body, but the last in addition corrupts the soul.

It is in the crowded population of great cities that the passion for intoxication rises to this ruinous excess. The fresh air and invigorating labour of the country both strengthen the constitution, and diminish the desire for excitement. The danger of demoralization from this cause is comparatively slight in rude periods, but it increases with the progress of civilisation, and rises to the highest pitch in manufacturing towns. The sedentary habits, and damp workshops of weavers, the close and often ill-ventilated galleries of cotton-spinners, the severe and exhausting labour of iron-moulders, or colliers, occasion an incessant craving for artificial excitation, which is unfelt in the ruder employments of country life. In such circumstances it is as essential that government should interfere to prevent the labouring classes from destroying themselves, as that during the horrors of shipwreck a guard should be placed over the spirit-room.

Experience, however, has proved, that even rural habits, and the most favourable circumstances of agricultural life, are not sufficient to counteract the dreadful effects of the passion for spirituous liquors in north-

ern climates. Sweden and Norway have already been mentioned as affording perhaps the most favourable example of the rural system, and of the happy effects of the acquisition of landed property by the poor, which is to be found in Europe. But even there the appalling fact has been brought to light by statistical research, that crime is immensely on the increase, and that the proportion which the punished offenders bear to the population is almost as great as in the thickly peopled and corrupted manufacturing towns of Great Britain.* Such a phenomenon would be altogether inexplicable, and directly at variance with what human affairs in all other parts of the world exhibited, if the difficulty were not at once solved by the enormous quantity of whisky which they drink, and the unhappy liberty to distil it to any extent, in their own houses, which they enjoy. By the Swedish law, every person may distil as much whisky as he chooses on his own premises, upon paying a very trifling duty to government, the produce of which over the whole country is not more than L. 90,000 a year; and the consequence is, that whisky is annually distilled and consumed in Sweden to the extent of 30,000,000 gallons a year.† The stills alone licensed by government are 150,000. ‡ Now the population of Sweden is at present just about 3,000,000, so that this shows that ten gallons or sixty

* The proportion of those convicted of felonies and serious crimes, in Gothland, which is a fair average of Sweden, is 1 in 484, and in Norway, 1 in 662: in all Sweden it is 1 in 140, but that includes the police cases: being about the proportion now existing in the great manufacturing city of Glasgow. Laing's Sweden, 109, 323. Vide infra 121, for the proportion in Glasgow.

† Bremner's Sweden and Russia, ii. 216.

‡ Laing's Sweden, 137.

bottles a year are consumed by each person, including men, women, children, and infants at the breast. This amount is probably unparalleled in any other part of the civilized globe, for it shows that at least a hundred bottles are drank by every adult of both sexes annually, being more than a third of a bottle a-day all the year round! In Sydney in New South Wales, which overflows with the refuse of the gaols in England, the proportion is only $8\frac{3}{4}$ gallons to every inhabitant, which gives it the highest place next to Sweden, over the whole world in this honourable distinction. All travellers both in Sweden and Norway, where similar habits prevail, have concurred in representing the excessive habits of intoxication prevalent among the people. * These dreadful examples are particularly worthy of attention to those who consider education as a sufficient antidote to the desire for ardent spirits in cold climates, because, as already amply shown, the substantial comforts and physical advantages of the inhabitants of Sweden and Norway are perhaps superior to those of any other country in Europe, and education has been carried there to an extent among the peasantry which is scarcely to be paralleled in any other quarter.

In Scotland the quantity of whisky consumed by the people has been *tripled* since the lowering of the duties: for the number of gallons which paid duty in

* Inglis's Norway, 47–92. Laing's Sweden, 137, 322. Bremner's Norway and Sweden, ii. 79, 436, i. 312. "Of every five children born in Norway, one is illegitimate. The facility with which ardent spirits may be obtained solves the phenoménon. Every farmer is a distiller of his own grain." Bremner's Norway, ii. 79. In Stockholm more than every third child is a bastard. The proportion is 1 to $2\frac{3}{10}$. Laing's Sweden, 113.

1823 was 2,300,000, and in 1836 it was 6,620,000.* This latter number of 6,620,000, taking the present population at 2,500,000, is nearly three gallons or eighteen bottles to every human being over the whole country,—a proportion more than six times that which obtains in England, where, among a population of 16,500,000 in 1837, the spirits charged for home consumption were only 7,875,000 gallons, being considerably less than half a gallon to every human being. Thus the quantity of spirits consumed in Scotland appears from the returns to be six times as great in proportion to the population as it is in England. And even admitting that a considerable quantity of the whisky entered as for home consumption in Scotland is conveyed to England, still the result will show, that there must be at least four times the quantity consumed in Scotland that there is in England. And no person practically acquainted with the habits of the people in the two countries can doubt that at least this proportion, so ruinous to Scotland, is what actually obtains between them.

In Glasgow, which is by far the most important town in Scotland, both from its population and manufacturing skill, the consumption of spirits is perfectly enormous, and the evil it produces beyond the reach of human calculation. The author has been led from his official situation and duties to pay particular attention, and make much inquiry into this subject, and the result has been, that the sum spent in consumption of whisky annually in that city is at least

* Porter's Parl. Tables for 1837, p. 25. Marshall's Statistical Tables, 108.

L. 1,200,000, of which probably L. 1,000,000 is expended by the operative or working classes.* The magnitude of this result will doubtless stagger many persons, and to those not practically conversant with the subject, may appear to exceed belief; but those at a distance who entertain this opinion, would do well to turn to the Appendix, and consider the grounds on which this conclusion is formed, and to point out what is erroneous either in the data given, or the conclusions drawn.† Those in Glasgow itself who have directed their attention to this subject will feel no surprise at it, as they must be well aware that it is not uncommon for skilled workmen, such as cotton-spinners, iron-moulders, colliers, and the like, to spend from ten to twelve shillings a week on ardent spirits; while too many of them leave their families in a state of constant destitution; and some of them even refuse to aliment their illegitimate offspring till compelled to do so by legal authority. And as a corresponding picture of the moral and social effects of this enormous consumption of spirits, the reader is requested to cast his eye to the table at the bottom of next page, exhibiting the increase of serious crime, and the progressive decline of the chances of human life, and awful increase of typhus fever in Glasgow during the last

* In a case which lately came into the Sheriff-Court of Glasgow, it was proved, that a single collier and his family had contracted debt with one spirit-dealer and grocer, in three years, to the amount of L. 78, 3s. 8d. In many of the smaller whisky shops in the suburbs of that city, it has been repeatedly proved before the author, that they esteem themselves unlucky, if in the first days of the year they do not draw L. 50 *a-day*, almost all from the working classes.

† Appendix A.

fifteen years, when the system of cheap spirits has been in operation.*

This table, which exhibits an increase of social depravity and public misery almost unexampled, shows that during the period of fifteen years that the system of cheap whisky has been in operation, serious crime has advanced at the rate of six hundred per cent.; and the chances of life have diminished nearly one-half. The proportion of crime to the existing population has been tripled, and although during the same period the numbers of the inhabitants have advanced only seventy-five per cent. It would be unreasonable to impute the

* Table exhibiting the increase of criminals tried by the Justiciary Judges, and the Sheriff with a Jury in Lanarkshire; the number of fever cases treated in the Royal Infirmary; the number of deaths in Glasgow; the population; and the proportion of deaths and serious crimes to the existing inhabitants in Glasgow, from 1822 to 1838.

Years	Population.	Criminals Tried by Justiciary Judges.	Criminals By Sheriff with a Jury.	Total tried by Jury.	Fever Patients in Infirmary.	Total No. of Deaths in Glasgow.	Rate of Mortality.	Rate of serious crime to a whole population.
1822,	151,440	98	0	98†	229	3,690	1 : 41.00	1 : 1540
1823,	156,170	114	0	114	269	4,647	1 : 33.75	1 : 1366
1824,	161,120	117	1	118	523	4,670	1 : 34.50	1 : 1361
1825,	166,280	153	7	160	897	4,898	1 : 33.94	1 : 1037
1826,	171,660	167	21	188	926	4,538	1 : 37.82	1 : 909
1827,	177,280	162	8	170	1084	5,136	1 : 34.51	1 : 1041
1828,	183,150	194	18	212	1511	5,942	1 : 30.82	1 : 873
1829,	189,270	201	38	239	865	5,452	1 : 34.71	1 : 790
1830,	195,650	232	39	271	729	5,785	1 : 37.73	1 : 719
1831,	202,420	207	31	238	1657	6,547	1 : 30.91	1 : 848
1832,*	209,230	220	52	272	1589	10,278‡	1 : 20.35	1 : 768
1833,	216,450	287	54	341	1288	6,632	1 : 32.63	1 : 633
1834,	223,940	236	31	267	2003	6,728	1 : 33.28	1 : 838
1835,	231,800	291	57	328	1359	7,849	1 : 29.53	1 : 633
1836,	244,000	225	104	349	3125	9,143	1 : 26.687	1 : 741
1837,	253,000	264	128	392	3860	10,888§	1 : 24.20	1 : 645
1838,	265,000	328	138	466	2679	8.942	1 : 30.01	1 : 569

* Cholera year.

† These numbers are exclusive, of course, of the summary commitments and sentences, which are in Glasgow and its adjoining districts about 2000 a year.

‡ Cholera year.

§ In the year 1837, the total number of fever patients in the whole population was estimated at 20,000, of whom 2000 died.

whole of these calamitous results to the lowering of the duty on spirits; but unquestionably that disastrous measure has had a great effect in producing them, and is amply sufficient to justify the opinion which all those really interested in bettering the condition of the poor should never cease to inculcate on every possible occasion, that all steps for social amelioration will prove utterly nugatory in the great towns, and manufacturing districts of this country, if they are not preceded by the imposition of so heavy a duty on spirits, as will put this ruinous indulgence altogether beyond the reach of the working classes, except in such moderate quantities as are consistent with their own welfare, and the general interests of society.

The course to be adopted in such a case is perfectly obvious. Keep on moderate duties on malt, and lay a heavy tax on distilled liquors. Labour requires support, and the unvarying round of humble life must have relaxation. But experience proves that this relaxation is better afforded by malt than spirituous liquors; and that the physical frame, which is debilitated by the frequent use of the latter, is materially strengthened by the former. The London coal-heavers, whose labour is perhaps more severe than that of any other class in the community, prove this, for they drink porter in preference to ardent spirits; and sometimes to the enormous extent of eighteen quarts a-day. Yet even these immense potations do not render them a peculiarly depraved population. Malt liquors when indulged in to excess are demoralizing, but not nearly in the same degree as spirituous. The intoxication of ale may stupify, but it does not infuriate; it may disqualify for labour, but it does

not qualify for crime. Many prepare themselves for deeds of violence by the use of spirits; few by the drinking of malt liquor.

The dangers apprehended from the increase of the duties on spirits by increasing the practice of smuggling are not imaginary, but they are trifling, compared with those incurred by the opposite course. It is no doubt true that smugglers are generally a bold and dissolute set of men; but it is no less true that their numbers are small, compared to those of the whole people. It is better to deprave a part than the whole. For one man demoralized by smuggling, fifty are sent to perdition in this world, and the next, by excess in spirituous liquors. There is more vice produced by cheap whisky in half a mile square of Glasgow in one year, than over the whole Highlands by smuggling under high duties in ten. It is a poor set-off to the destruction of the character of the whole manufacturing population, several hundred thousands in number of the country, that the Highland smugglers, only a few hundreds, have disappeared. Besides, there is reason to hope, that, by a steady adherence to such a system, coupled with reasonable duties on *malt liquor*, the tastes of the people may be gradually changed, and the demoralization of ardent spirits prevented, without the evils of smuggling being increased.

II.—It is impossible, however permanently, to abate the passion for ardent spirits, and the disorders which spring from it, without substituting some other gratifications in their stead. It is to no purpose with the mass of the working classes, to enlarge on the

dangers of intoxication, and the advantages of sober life, unless these advantages are made palpable by some pleasures or benefits immediately flowing from them. The abandonment of spirits being a certain sacrifice, it will not be generally made, without the acquisition of some corresponding enjoyment.

In the progress of society, the instinctive passions are gradually counteracted and restrained by the growth of *artificial wants*. These desires are slightly felt, and their influence is feeble in the infancy of society; but with the growth of opulence, their sway is constantly extended, and at length, among the classes where they prevail, they acquire the greatest power. The strongest natural passions are generally subdued by acquired propensities. It is in this law of Nature that the only effectual means of combating the influence of dangerous instinctive desires is to be found.

Examine the different classes of society, and say where the passion for intoxication is most powerful. It will be found infinitely strongest in the lowest and most degraded bodies; in that rank where it constitutes the sole means of excitation, and the chief enjoyment of life. A beggar will expend his last shilling on whisky: a Peer, for the same enjoyment, will give no part of a princely fortune. What enables the middling and the higher orders to eradicate a propensity so powerful in their inferiors? It is the pleasures of intellectual cultivation, refined taste, and the variety of other enjoyments, which opulence puts within their reach, as well as the habit of order and regular conduct, flowing from sedulous education, and generally prosperous circumstances. Deprive the higher

ranks of all their enjoyments; strip them of the advantages of fortune, education, and station in society, and they will speedily be as much the slaves of intemperance as the lowest classes. If we would enable the poor to acquire the habits of their superiors, we must furnish them with the motives by which they are influenced.

It is impossible to give to the labouring classes the wealth of the rich, or the desires of men in the higher ranks of society; but it is possible to give them such habits as render artificial wants prevalent, and the sacrifices necessary to acquire them tolerable. It is no particular class of enjoyments which constitutes the influence of such wants. The same gratifications which would be esteemed the highest luxury by a mechanic, are considered as necessaries by the middling class, and would be deemed the extreme of indigence by men of rank. The lower orders may be as strongly influenced by the desire to augment or preserve their little comforts, as the higher by the ambition to accumulate large fortunes. Competence to every man is the secure enjoyment of a *little more* than he actually possesses.

The spread of artificial wants among the people, therefore, is the great counteracting principle to the evils by which they are most liable to be assailed. It is this which stimulates the industry, by which comfort is to be procured; which habituates to the labour by which wealth is to be acquired; which produces the habits from which order is to spring. It is this still more which furnishes objects of desire inconsistent with immediate and sensual gratification, and gives birth to the inestimable power of controlling

present propensity, from a view to ultimate advantage. The poor who are actuated by the desire to improve their dress, to enlarge their houses, to augment their furniture, have passed the most critical period in human existence. A working man who puts on a good coat on Sunday has mounted one step on the ladder of improvement. The next may take him to church. The country has comparatively little to fear, where the great body of the lower orders are influenced by such motives.

It is impossible that government can directly interfere to augment this tendency; but indirectly, much may be done to foster its growth. Every species of sumptuary law by which the increasing comfort of the lower orders is to be restrained, or their habits of expenditure coerced, is levelled at the fundamental principles of human improvement. Fortunately, such laws are generally as impotent as they would be hurtful, if acted upon: they fall into oblivion, from the experienced impossibility of carrying them into effect.

The diffusion of habits of comfort among the poor in great cities may be materially increased, by statutory provisions relative to the *building of streets*. In the crowded alleys, and ruinous tenements, in which so large a proportion of the poor are doomed to reside, the acquisition of habits of cleanliness or neatness is impossible. How can the people acquire such habits, when they are constantly immured in gloomy habitations, and surrounded by filthy neighbours?—to what purpose improve the furniture of rooms into which the light of the sun never enters?—how acquire ideas of comfort, when misery in its most squalid form is continually before their eyes? Nothing spreads so

rapidly as the disregard of the evils of poverty; and nothing leads so certainly to the recklessness of immediate indulgence. The advantages of spacious and airy streets are strongly felt in arresting the progress, and facilitating the recovery from contagious disorders; and the same causes both diminish the temptations to licentious gratifications, and facilitate the introduction of habits of comfort.

The Legislature, indeed, cannot compel the labouring classes to live in good houses, nor would they be justified in enforcing, without providing adequate compensation, the demolition of the most crowded parts of great cities. But they would be perfectly justified in providing, by a general legislative measure, that whenever a new street is formed, whether through old habitations or in new quarters, it shall be of a certain breadth, and limited to a certain height. The advantages of such a measure, both upon the health, the morality, and the habits of the people, would be incalculable. Of what importance would it have proved, if such a regulation had been passed and enforced three centuries ago? What squalid wretchedness would have been prevented; what contagious disorders alleviated; what vicious contamination prevented; what ideas of comfort induced! If any person doubts of these consequences, let him visit these abodes of misery, and form his own opinion as to the moral and physical consequences of living in such situations.

It is in vain to say, that this matter may be without danger left to the interest of individuals, and that every proprietor should be allowed to lay out his property to the best advantage. The interests of the higher

and middling orders, indeed, may be safely intrusted to their own keeping; but it is neither just to the poor, nor expedient for the public, to leave the indigent classes at the mercy of their superiors. The palaces of the affluent, the squares of the thriving, stand in need of no legislative protection, but the case is widely different with the alleys of the miserable. However crowded soever buildings may be; there will always be found poor persons who must inhabit them. However dangerous soever such structures may become both to the health and the morals of the people, there will always be found wealth ready to erect them. It is in protecting extreme indigence from the necessities to which it would otherwise be compelled to submit, and in enforcing police regulations, important alike to the health, the manners, and the morals of the lower orders, that the power of government is most beneficially exerted. Like the laws of quarantine or of public cleanliness, such regulations are necessary to enforce those salutary rules, which avarice is always ready to violate, and indigence too often unwilling to obey.

In prosperous and civilized states, the growth of artificial wants may be safely left to the natural effects of increasing opulence. But in remote and barbarous districts, artificial encouragement to foster the beginning of manufacturing establishments is often indispensable. When we behold a tree in all the luxuriance of its growth, it is easy to say that it requires no artificial support; but while yet a sapling it would have yielded to the blast if not sheltered from the winds of winter. The partiality of the early European governments for manufacturing industry was undoubtedly

occasioned by their supposed tendency to augment the national wealth; but the indirect effect of such establishments in awakening artificial wants, and inducing habits of industry, was most important, and perhaps sufficient to counterbalance the whole disadvantages of the commercial system. In remote situations, such as the Irish provinces, manufactures suited to the wants, or adapted to the capabilities of the country, would be of incalculable importance. Tailors and milliners would do more in the end to improve the habits of the lower orders, than all the efforts of the benevolent. A reformation in the habits of the people is of more importance than anything which can be done for their relief: and this reformation can only be effected by the growth of the desires which are inconsistent with the indulgence of irregular gratifications.

It is usual to hear the rich enlarge upon the ruinous effects of the passion for dress, and the indulgence in expense by the lower orders. There never was a more mistaken opinion. The poor must have some gratifications. If they are not allowed to imitate those of their superiors, they will sink to those of their inferiors; if they cannot rise to the enjoyments of civilized life, they will fall to the grossness of sensual pleasure. Education will, in every age, attract a certain number: but the great majority must be influenced by considerations adapted to every capacity. The desire to imitate the manners, and expenses of their superiors, is the means by which the native indolence and inherent recklessness of the lower orders are overcome, and those habits of industry induced which lead to regular and systematic conduct in life.

In this point of view, it is a matter worthy of very

serious consideration, whether both Government, and all those who are practically entrusted with the power of removing any part of the existing evils in this respect, do not lie under a very serious responsibility, from the too uniform neglect which has been paid to the improvement of the public innocent amusements, or objects of interest that may be furnished to the poor.

It is a total mistake to suppose that these matters can be left in the outset, at least in a community not fully civilized, to the individuals concerned, and the care which they will take of their own interest. Experience proves and has long proved the reverse. The higher ranks may be safely entrusted with their own pleasures or amusements, and with the direction which they are to take. But the matter is very different with the working classes, especially when assembled together in great towns. They have been left now for centuries pretty much to themselves in all the manufacturing cities of Great Britain, and the result has been, that hardly any thing has been done to give them any means of enjoyment other than those dependent upon the senses.

Whatever tends to elevate the mind or improve the taste, to awaken the feeling of the sublime or the beautiful, the dignified in conduct or the interesting in incident, and to spread such tastes generally among the working classes, is an immense public benefit. Nothing is to be considered as trifling or unworthy of notice which has any tendency to produce these advantages. The construction of beautiful architectural edifices, placed in prominent positions in a city, so as to attract the eye of the most inconsiderate, is of

itself no trifling advantage. The perception of the beautiful in art, though a source of pleasure of the very highest kind to those who are habituated to it, is an enjoyment of the slowest growth, and more than one generation must elapse before it can be extended generally among the people. It is impossible to begin too soon, therefore, with the measures requisite to produce this feeling; and nothing can affect it but the exhibition of monuments in an improved style constantly before the eyes of the inhabitants. For the same reason, it is of the highest importance that institutions should exist which shall, gratis, or on the most moderate terms, lay open to the people the enjoyments of public walks and gardens, museums of natural history, exhibitions of pictures, and every thing, in short, which can excite the fancy or improve the taste. It is a serious defect in civilized society in this country, that so little has been done by Government or corporate bodies in this respect; and it is the obvious duty of municipal magistrates to apply a considerable part of their funds to the support of such institutions.

These enjoyments are addressed, in the first instance at least, only to the eye; and they tend to elevate the mind indirectly only, by furnishing delight in which the pleasures of the imagination are mingled with those of the senses. But there are other enjoyments of a more powerful and exciting nature, the influence of which is much more rapid, though also more dangerous. Of this class the pleasures of the theatre, and the reading derived from books in circulating libraries, may be considered as the most prominent. Admitting that there is often a great intermixture of

morbid excitement or vicious pleasure in the enjoyments to be got in this way, still they tend to elevate the people above the grossness of mere sensual pleasure. There is always an intermixture of talent, sentiment, and imagination, in them; and it is no small matter to get the working classes in great towns weaned in any degree from pleasures purely sensual, and elevated to those in which mind in any degree has a share. It is constantly to be recollected, that their present condition in the principal towns of Great Britain, with the exception, perhaps, of London, is that of the great bulk of the people being acquainted with no other gratification but those of the senses. The question is not, whether the doubtful pleasures of the theatre or the circulating library are as salutary to the mind as the reading of works on morality or religion, for no one can doubt that they are not, but whether they are not less degrading in their effects than the *unadulterated enjoyments of the spirit-cellar or the brothel?* That is the practical question to be considered, and no one really acquainted with the subject, it is thought, can doubt that, dangerous as the former class of enjoyments unquestionably are, they are less brutalizing than the latter. And of the efficacy of such more refined pleasures in diminishing the desire for ardent spirits, we have a decisive proof, not merely in the fact that the habit of drinking to excess has almost become extinct in the higher classes of Great Britain in the last half century, but that a similar change has been effected over the whole population of Stockholm, eighty thousand in number,* although the inhabitants of this peninsula, as already mention-

* Bremner's Sweden and Norway, ii. 377.

ed, are more addicted to ardent spirits, and drink a greater quantity than any people in the world.

III.—With the growth of artificial wants, however, and the emancipation of the people from the grossness of mere sensual pleasures, a new set of temptations and prolific sources of crime are opened. The idle and the profligate speedily find that there are other modes of gratifying their wants than the slow returns of labour; the desire for enjoyment in one class, and the exposed situation of property in another, lead to a rapid increase of depredation. In the progress of society, the offences flowing from violent passion gradually diminish, but those arising from the love of gain are continually on the increase. The administration of *criminal law* comes, therefore, to be an important element in the management of the poor.

The system of punishment which has been followed in all countries from the earliest ages, draws after it the destruction, either physical or moral, of the criminal. Imprisonment or corporal chastisement rarely have the effect of reforming the guilty: the first exposes him to the contamination of guilty associates, the latter degrades him irrecoverably in the eyes of his acquaintance. The great problem in criminal jurisprudence, that of combining terror to others in punishment with reformation to the offender, never has been solved, till accident led to its discovery in this country.

It is the more remarkable that the true principles of punishment should have been so long of being discovered, because reason and analogy point so clearly to their adoption.

When a man's health has suffered from confine-

ment or bad air, physicians do not prescribe closer restraint or worse atmosphere; but they send him to the country, where his habits may be entirely changed, and the benefits of fresh inhalations received. If a young person has been led astray by improper acquaintances, we do not expect to reform him by consigning him to the care of still more depraved associates, but we remove him from the scene of contamination, and strive to throw him into better society. It is the same with the reformation of more hardened offenders. Nothing will influence such characters but the permanent operation of causes diametrically opposite to those which have occasioned their delinquencies. Where evil communication, and the contagion of idleness in great cities, has fostered criminal habits, it is not by immuring them in jails, where the contagion of guilt is yet more rapid, and the dangers of idleness still greater, that a reformation is to be expected; but by separating them from each other, and subjecting them to constant and rural labour. If they have become wicked by being close together, they can only be improved by being separated from each other: if they have been seduced by the force of city temptations, they must be reclaimed by the simplicity of country life.

These principles are so perfectly obvious, that they must long ago have forced themselves on the attention of mankind, were it not that the primary object of punishment being to deter others, the species of pains were generally selected which were most likely to produce this effect, with the least trouble to the rest of the community. It is long before the sympathy of the Legislature is awakened for the perpetrators of offences; or men become aware, that the mea-

sures they have adopted to repress crimes are often the chief cause of their multiplication.

With the growth of great cities, however, it becomes not only expedient but just, that punishment should be rendered the means of reformation. When the higher orders, for their own profit, have drawn the labouring classes in great numbers into a small space, the contagion of guilt becomes rapid and unavoidable. The lower orders, situated as they are in so far as regards moral or religious instruction, are frequently hardly more to be blamed for yielding to the temptations which surround them, than for falling victims to the typhus fever. It is but reasonable that a small portion of the vast profits which individuals or the state make by their labour, should be devoted to correct the mental diseases which that labour has induced. A general neglects one of his first duties, if he does not provide hospitals and medical attendants to relieve the virulence of the disorders which the fatigues of war have occasioned in his army.

The reformation of offenders is founded also on the highest expedience. Every criminal who is liberated from jail becomes the centre from which the contagion of vice spreads in all directions. The young are in most cases initiated into wickedness, or inveigled into temptation, by experienced offenders. The growth of crime is arrested in its source if the hardened criminals are removed from the possibility of corrupting others, and thrown into circumstances where their own reformation can hardly be avoided.

The punishment of transportation combines in the most remarkable manner all the requisites that could be desired in the correction of offenders. It *removes the criminal*, and thereby prevents him both from re-

peating his offences, and corrupting others, without shocking the feelings of mankind, and palsying the administration of criminal justice by the undue severity of the punishment. It operates as a salutary *warning to others;* for to persons of dissolute and depraved habits the prospect of a life of labour without excitation, and compulsory sobriety is always terrible, and frequently worse than death itself. It furnishes the only chance of *reforming the criminal;* for the temptations to crime are not to be found in the rude and laborious employments of early colonization; and depraved inclinations gradually disappear from the experienced impossibility of finding them gratification.*

From the official returns it appears, that, out of 18,531 convicts transported to New South Wales prior to 1821, *six thousand* had gained their liberty, and realized property to the amount of *fifteen hundred thousand pounds.*† So completely was the character of a great proportion of these convicts changed, that they were at one period admitted indiscriminately with free settlers to the governor's table; a practice which was only relinquished of late years, from the violent jealousies to which it gave rise on the part of the latter body.‡ The whole previous annals of the world put together will not afford so remarkable an instance of the reformation of offenders.

When the mode of life to which they are subjected is considered, this change will not appear surprising. In their own country, all resolutions of amendment are overthrown, by the impossibility after suffering punishment of finding employment; all regular habits

* Cunningham's New South Wales, Vol. ii. p. 172. Parl. Returns, in Martin, iv. 306.

† Cunningham's New South Wales, ii. p. 184. ‡ Ibid. p. 201.

dissolved by the renewed influence of old connections. In the world to which they are removed, new habits are at once induced: the convicts are awarded to colonists, who are settled among the woods, and incessantly occupied in rural labour: escape is dangerous from the severe punishment to which it leads, and the desolate nature of the country by which they are surrounded; and depredation unavailing, from the difficulty of disposing of stolen property, and the impossibility of transporting the bulky articles on which alone it could be exercised. The human mind bends to the force of necessity, and the irresistible influence of concurring circumstances; the tendency to crime sometimes hardly outlives a twelvemonth of such habits:* hope revives from the many surrounding examples of success which have followed a life of amendment; and before the expiration of the period of their servitude, they are frequently found worthy of being entrusted by their employers with the entire management of their affairs.†

It is a commonly received opinion that transportation is not regarded by criminals in this country as a punishment; and, in consequence, that it fails in attaining the chief object of criminal law. There never was a more mistaken opinion. A few prisoners, when receiving sentence of exile at the Old Bailey, return thanks to the judge who pronounces it, and immediately the conclusion is formed, that all offenders regard transportation as a boon; on the same principle on which, according to the old observation of Aristotle, if a few instances of deception in persons asking charity are discovered, it is immediately inferred that *all* beggars are impostors.‡ Those acquainted with

* Cunningham's New South Wales, ii. 29. † Ibid. ii. 184.

‡ Aristotle.

the real feelings of criminals, must be aware that they generally regard transportation as a most grievous punishment, and that, in fact, the chief motive to crime is the hope that it will *not* be inflicted. Imprisonment, or any other punishment which promises a speedy return to their dissipated habits, is considered as a trifle; but transportation, which removes them to a distant land, and commences a life of unvarying labour, is regarded with perfect horror. The author can assert this with perfect confidence, from a very extensive experience of the wishes of such persons. Numbers act on the principle that death is better than transportation. The dread which they entertain for it is a certain proof of the beneficial effects which it is calculated to produce on their minds; it is an object of apprehension, precisely because it induces a *total change of habits*, and eradicates those guilty desires to which their past depravity has been owing.

The practice of sending offenders to the Hulks, or to the galleys, or to penitentiaries of any description, is liable to precisely the same objection with imprisonment, that it accumulates criminals together in circumstances where contamination is certain, and reformation impossible. The prevalence of such punishments renders criminal justice an object of detestation. Persons of any humanity feel a strong aversion to consigning the victims of the law to misery and chains for the best part of their lives. Hence at Rome, where this punishment is commonly inflicted, felonies may be committed in the open streets, without any of the spectators thinking of interfering to arrest the offender;* while in England, the warmest philanthropists would assist in the belief that the transpor-

* Simond's Italy, p. 289.

tation of the criminal would give him the only chance of amendment. It is understood that Government have it in contemplation to abandon the penitentiary at Millbank, from the experienced impossibility of reforming the convicts in that situation. It is to be hoped that they will also entirely relinquish the system of confining convicts in the Hulks, or central jails of any kind, and transport them all to New South Wales, or some nearer settlement. To suppose that any mental improvement can be effected, where two or three hundred criminals are enclosed together in a vessel or great penitentiary, is just as chimerical as to suppose that health can be restored, by keeping persons continually shut up in a fever hospital.

Nothing can be more obvious than the fundamental principles of criminal jurisprudence; yet nothing is less understood in practice.

1. The first essential circumstance is, that the commitments should be entrusted to *professional magistrates* of tried character, and not to mere country gentlemen. The delusion of the unpaid magistracy is one of the most extraordinary which ever prevailed among mankind. Their skill is of course inferior to that of persons who devote their whole attention to the subject; their responsibility practically smaller; their prejudices from the influence of local acquaintance greater. The truth of this has been abundantly proved by experience. In England, where the committals are made by the country gentlemen, nearly a *fifth* of the persons committed are acquitted by the petit jury; in Scotland, where they are intrusted to professional men, and immediately reviewed by the King's counsel, who discharge those against whom

the evidence is inadequate, they amount only to *a fifteenth.**

2. The cases of persons committed should be *immediately* considered by professional persons who are to conduct the prosecution. If this system were adopted in England as it is in Scotland, above 2000 persons would be liberated within *a few days* after their committal, who are now doomed to lie in jail till they are discharged by the grand or the petit jury.† Whatever character these persons may have borne when they entered the walls of their prison, they all leave it confirmed thieves. It is of immense importance that this perennial stream of pollution should be prevented from flowing from the public jails over the rest of the state.

3. Imprisonment, as a punishment, should, as much as possible, be abandoned. Severe labour at government works without remuneration constitutes the appropriate punishment of small offences. The produce of this labour, after maintaining the criminal, should form a fund to remunerate the injured party. Contamination, doubtless, would take place in such situations; but incomparably less than in the idleness and confinement of jails, where the tedium of life can be relieved only by forming plans of depredation.

4. For the *second* offence, transportation should invariably be inflicted. The *certainty* of this would do more to repress crime than all other measures put

	Committed.	Convicted.	Acquitted.	Proportion of acquitted to committed.
* England, -	23,612	17,090	4388	.20
Scotland, -	3,126	2,358	229	.6
Ireland, - -	14,804	9,536	3011	.23

—Porter's Parl. Tables, 1837, 127–135.

† Criminal Returns, 1837.

together. Under the present system, criminals often lead a life of depravity before they are removed to the plantations. Many individuals have been *forty or fifty times punished by imprisonment* before they are transported. Imagination cannot conceive a worse system. Every one of these hardened offenders has probably, during his career, corrupted a little circle of his associates, who were tempted to engage in a life of depravity from the escapes of their preceptor. If it was universally known that *the second offence would invariably be attended by transportation and a life of labour*, the risk of crime would more than counterbalance its advantages, even in the estimation of the most reckless of the people.

A strong impression has been produced of late years on the public mind of Great Britain, by the evidence which was adduced before the Parliamentary Committee which sat in 1838 and 1839, on the state of the penal convicts in New South Wales, and a large proportion of humane and philanthropic men in this country, as well as of those practically engaged in the repression of crime, came to be of opinion that transportation is a dreadful evil of itself, attended with little or no benefit to the convict colony. That it is a matter of extreme difficulty to conduct properly a penal colony, to which five or six thousand of the worst offenders are annually transported, may at once be conceded; and although it may be perfectly true, that the accounts of the depravity and intense suffering among the convicts who have been sent to the iron gangs are nowise exaggerated; yet it is not the less true that transportation is still an immense public benefit to the penal colony, as their own resolutions, when the change of opinion on the subject in Great Britain became known, amply

demonstrate.* And whoever will seriously consider the subject must come to be convinced, that, however great are the evils of transportation, those of imprisonment for a long period are much greater, and that the proposition to discontinue the former punishment, and substitute long confinement in its stead, is in effect to burden ourselves with the whole evils of a convict population, for whom we have no employment, and who cannot be improved here, in order to relieve a distant colonial settlement who are anxious to obtain them; where their labour is of essential value; where all have the means of reformation and doing well if they will avail themselves of it; and where a larger proportion than in any other situation of the globe are reclaimed by these advantages. In truth, the evils of transportation have been felt to be so great, just because imprisonment at home had proved whol-

* Resolved unanimously, "That no system of penal discipline, or secondary punishment, will be found at once so cheap, so reformatory, as that of well regulated convict assignment, the good conduct of the convict, and his continuance at labour being so obviously the interest of the asignee; while the partial solitude and privations incidental to a pastoral or agricultural life in the remote situations in the colony, (which may be made the universal employment of convicts,) by effectually breaking their connection with companions, and habits of vice, is better calculated than any other system to produce moral reformation when accompanied with adequate religious instruction. That if transportation has hitherto failed to produce this effect, it is owing to causes, many of which are no longer in existence, while others are in a rapid course of amendment: that the discontinuance of convict labour would be a great evil to the colony; and that the continuance of immigration in any extended form must depend upon the continuance of the assignment of convicts."—Resolutions at a Public Meeting at Sidney, 17th July 1838. Colonial Mag. i. 431. Such is the demand for convict labour, that there are *five* applications for every prisoner that arrives in the colony. The average cost of a convict in Millbank Penitentiary, after deducting his work, is L.30, 14s. 3d.: that of a convict in New South Wales, L.15, 4s. 2d., and if the produce of their labour is deducted, nothing.—Martin's Colonial History, iv. 357.

ly inefficacious as a means of amendment; for almost all the convicts sent abroad had been repeatedly in jail for previous offences.

It is commonly thought that long imprisonment, if coupled with the continual separation of one prisoner from another, which is admitted to be indispensable, will operate as an effectual means of reclaiming offenders; and the example of America, where the separate and silent system has been long established, has been constantly referred to, as demonstrating its efficacy on the most extensive scale.* So far as the author's experience has gone, and it has been not a little, he has seen no reason to indulge in these sanguine anticipations. On the contrary, so far as he has had an opportunity of observing, even the very longest imprisonments have seldom any effect whatever, except on the young, in producing such a result. There can be no doubt that with young offenders on the threshold of crime, and especially under the age of puberty, reformation may be effected by imprisonment, if coupled with regular employment and habits, conjoined with religious and moral instruction. But upon the older persons, and especially those who have become proficients in crime, it seldom produces any beneficial effect whatever. Most erroneous conclusions on this subject are drawn from attending to statistical returns, correctly framed, from particular prisons, which undoubtedly show that those offenders who have returned again after a long imprisonment is very small. But the principal reason of that is, that the state of depravity into which they have fallen is such, and the crimes they commit are so great, that imprisonment can no longer be inflicted: they are transported for their next offences, and they

* Tocqueville and Beaumont's Penitentiary Systems in America.

are, accordingly, no more heard of in the penal jails. But those who are intrusted with a more general administration of criminal justice are enabled to trace the offenders through their different stages of short imprisonments, long imprisonments, and transportation; and in the course of nearly twenty years of official connection with this subject, the author has witnessed the progress of many thousand persons upon whom short imprisonments have produced no other effect than that of preparing them for long ones, and long ones of rendering them ripe for transportation.

The prevailing errors on this subject arise from the same cause to which so many other delusions of the benevolent among the higher ranks of society are to be ascribed, viz. the supposing that criminals, or persons in their sphere of society, are actuated by the same feelings, and reason in like manner as they do. There cannot be a greater mistake. It may safely be affirmed, that the difference between the power of reflection in an educated man and a criminal is, at least, as great as that between the latter and one of the lower animals. Without doubt, if an educated person, habituated to regular habits, and frequent circumspection, whether he is placed in the more fortunate or humbler ranks of life, were to be exposed to such a calamity as a long imprisonment, he would generally be led to reflect seriously on the consequences of his actions. But a person of either sex, accustomed even for any considerable time to a life of depravity, hardly ever reasons in this manner. In the first place, he scarcely ever looks forward to the future at all; the end of a week or a fortnight generally forms the limit of his intellectual reasoning; like his ancestors, whom Tacitus describes in the woods in Germany, he

would for a throw of the dice, or a night of drunkenness, hazard his liberty in this world, and his salvation in the next.

When a person of this description is imprisoned, he rarely regards it as a consequence of his own actions, or any thing which he either can avoid or for which he is responsible. He has been so long accustomed to witness crimes committed similar to that for which he suffers, by hundreds around him who escaped detection, and received only gratification for their disorders, that he regards his own fate as the result merely of bad luck. He is not conscious that he is at all worse than his neighbours, who, so far from suffering, enjoy themselves the more on account of their licentious lives and depraved habits. The same misfortune, he hopes, will not again overtake him; and the conclusion which he draws from his prolonged imprisonment is, that, having suffered so severely already, he should enjoy himself the more when he gets out, and compensate by weeks of drunkenness, purchased by housebreaking or robbery, for years of previous solitude and compulsory sobriety. Many of such persons when visited by the humane; especially of the softer sex, during their imprisonment, profess resolutions of amendment, which are often sincere at the time, and not unfrequently shed tears at the consequences of their former misconduct. But little reliance is to be put on such passing professions as likely to influence future life. The power of self-control is not the work of a moment, nor can the mastery of the passions be acquired in the absence of temptation and within the four walls of a cell; and not unfrequently it will be found that the most audacious crimes they afterwards commit are perpetrated within a week after their liberation.

IV.—There is a large proportion, however, even of the most indigent and inconsiderate of the lower orders, upon whom transportation, as a punishment, cannot be inflicted. Thousands of unfortunate young women are to be found in every city, who have not committed crimes worthy of exile, but whose irregular life is a prolific source of corruption in others. Crowds of poor people are assembled in every manufacturing town, who, without being actually wicked, are so situated, that the least additional temptation, or the most common casualties of life, precipitate them into a life of depravity. Numbers are everywhere to be found, whom innocent misfortunes have cast down into the lowest situations, and who find a return to the paths of comfort impossible, from the powerful competition which has occupied their places. It is upon this class that the efforts of the benevolent are incessantly exercised, and the great object is, to give such a direction to their exertions as may prevent their humanity from being misapplied.

The great cause which renders the benevolence of the affluent nugatory in the relief of misery, or the reformation of character, is, that they are not sufficiently aware of the causes which *habitually* depress or corrupt their inferiors. They give occasional relief when they perceive that it is urgently required; but they forget, that unless a family are put in the way of doing something for themselves, such casual assistance can produce no lasting benefit. They place the depraved in asylums, or put into their hands religious publications, and expect that an immediate reformation is to be the consequence; forgetting that the rains of winter are not to be dried by a day of

sunshine; and that the habits which a life has formed must be extirpated by nearly as slow a process.

A certain number, no doubt, may be reformed by arguments addressed to the understanding or the conscience, and possess sufficient strength of mind to prevent their relapsing into irregular habits. But the great majority will not be permanently influenced by such considerations. They can be moved only by their habits or their desires. The only way to put them in the ways of amendment, is *to place them in circumstances* where better habits are induced, and more virtuous desires may be awakened.

When we reflect that thirty or forty thousand young women have embarked in a mode of life in London, which entails degradation on themselves, and dissolute habits in others; and that in New South Wales there were, in 1833, 44,688 men, and only 16,173 women,* it is impossible not to wish for the despotic powers of an eastern monarch, who, by a single sweep, would fill up the void of one hemisphere, and reform the character of so large a number in the other. Irreclaimable as a large part of these women may be, some of them are capable of amendment; and at all events they would be better than no women at all to two-thirds of the community. When we observe the anxious competition for employment which exists among our own poor, and the talent and skill which lie waste for want of a proper subject on which to be exercised, and recollect the boundless extent of fertile plains which are uncultivated in so many parts of the world, it is natural to wish that some resistless force could be found to people the deserts of Nature with the dejected crowds

* Martin's History of the Colonies, iv. 307.

of cultivated life, and spread over the wilderness of the world, the multitudes who pine in the obscurity of its civilisation. We cannot do so; and philosophy in this, as in other instances, is frequently obliged to regret how much freedom has fettered the powers of beneficence. But much may be done by giving a proper direction to the efforts of charity, and turning the stream of emigration into the channel where its benefits are greatest, and its evils least.

1. To the old, the sick, and the infirm, the only charity which can be really beneficial, is that which is administered in their own country. But to the young, the active, and the robust, of either sex, no relief can be so efficacious as that which enables them *to remove* from the scene of their misery, or the circle of their temptations. It is ever to be recollected, that, in the lower ranks of life, misery leads to vice, and vice to misery; that there is a certain point of human depression, where recklessness succeeds the extinction of hope; and that the irregularities of the poor are not so much owing to inherent peculiar depravity, as to the force of temptation or the pressure of suffering which virtue is unable to withstand. Thousands of the poor in every great city are constantly on the verge of this precarious state, and the only way either of ameliorating their own condition, or improving that of their associates, is by furnishing them with the means of removing to a less peopled part of the world. It is by such a measure that a total change is to be effected in their habits; that vicious connections are severed, and irregular desires extinguished, and guilty indulgencies prevented; and that, with the commencement of a new life, hope is revived in the breasts of the good, and vice repressed in the conduct of the wicked.

The exertions of the benevolent could never be so beneficially exercised as in furnishing this class with the means of emigration. It is found impracticable either to obtain settlements for them in the country at home, or to induce them to submit to the privations of rural life, where the seductions of cities are within their reach. Nothing but removal to a distant land, whence return is impossible, and where towns are few, can effect that total change in their habits from which alone a permanent reformation is to be expected. But it is not sufficient merely to waft the emigrant across the Atlantic, and land him penniless on the American or Australian shore: it is indispensable in addition to furnish him with the means of reaching those distant settlements where the demand for labour insures the means of subsistence. If a young man reaches Upper Canada, though without a farthing in his pockets, he is sure of being engaged at half-a-crown a-day, besides his food; in two years he may save enough of money to erect a log-house, and lay down two acres with wheat; and at the end of three years more he is in possession of the Government grant of fifty acres, and secure of subsistence for the remainder of his life.* If a young woman arrives in the same country, she is instantly hired as a female servant by some of the more opulent settlers; but it is rarely that six months elapse without some of the colonists placing her at the head of his own establishment.†

2. The greatest evil of emigration when voluntarily adopted by the poorer classes is, that the persons who remove are those who are possessed of some capital, or endowed with habits of industry; while the indigent and the profligate neither possess the funds ne-

* Howison's Upper Canada, p. 269. † Ibid. p. 172.

cessary for their removal, nor have energy of mind sufficient to undertake it. The consequence is, that the state loses by emigration the sinews of its strength, while the condition of the indigent labourers who remain behind is only rendered more depressed by the removal of the intelligence and industry which was preparing the wealth necessary to employ them. To obviate this evil, it is of the highest importance that means should be taken, either by voluntary associations of the benevolent, the funds of public charity, or the aid of Government, to furnish the means of emigration to the *poorest classes of the community*; and if the removal of some is necessary, to withdraw those who are likely to be burdensome, rather than those whose industry is beneficial to the state.

There is no way in which a portion of the poor's rates could be more advantageously applied, than in fitting out emigrants to the colonies from amongst the young of both sexes who have fallen as a burden upon the public funds. In every opulent and manufacturing community there must be numbers of young persons so situated. Orphans bereaved of their parents at an early age; foundlings or natural children, who have lost the only parent who can maintain them; young women reclaimed from a life of licentiousness; young men thrown out of employment by the vicissitudes of manufacturing enterprise, form a numerous class, who are burdensome, and almost incapable of permanent improvement at home, but who would form an invaluable addition to colonial industry. Such is the anxiety for persons of this description in distant settlements, that in New South Wales the settlers hail with delight the tidings of the increase of crime in England, and view with peculiar complacency the progress of

juvenile depravity.* A young woman in Canada is instantly settled in life; the addition of a few children renders her the object of general desire; for even infants soon become serviceable in their rustic establishments.† It is a matter of constant regret to the friends of humanity in this country, that so large a portion of the funds, both of public and private charity, should be devoted to the vain attempt of reclaiming, or improving the situation of these persons at home, when far more likely means of effecting both are to be found on the other side of the Atlantic.

It is an object of national importance to remove as many as possible of this depressed and unfortunate class from the country. From them springs an incessant addition to the reckless and destitute part of the community; persons born in misery, to whom penury is habitual, comfort unknown, and crime familiar. It is in their improvident habits, that the principal cause of a redundant population is to be found; because they are placed in circumstances where the limitations to increase cannot develope themselves. In every point of view, therefore, the removal of this class is an object of public importance; because by so doing, not only is individual distress relieved, but the fountain of future indigence diminished.

In several instances the emigration of indigent persons has proved unfortunate, from the ignorance or penury of the settlers, or the rapacity of the masters of the vessels in which they sailed. But if their removal is conducted on a great scale, by public bodies or associated societies interested in their welfare, these evils would be effectually prevented. By the appointment of one set of public officers to superintend the

* Resolutions at Sidney, 17th July 1838. Ante, II. 142.

† Howison, i. 72.

embarkation, and another to receive the emigrants, and assign them the places destined for their reception, the misery of the colonists would be avoided, until they were in situations where they could support themselves; and surely no object could be more worthy either of public or private attention, than one which thus converts the indigence and wretchedness of one hemisphere into the means of spreading wealth and happiness through another.*

V.—The measures hitherto suggested have reference chiefly to the poorest class of the community; and are calculated to relieve that mass of indigence which is always to be found in the lower stages of civilized life. But there are other measures of equal importance, which affect alike the prosperous and the unfortunate, and are calculated not only to afford the means of subsistence to the poor, but the means of elevation to the industrious.

"The evils of the poor," says the Scripture, "is their poverty." There never was a juster observation: not in the obvious sense merely that the sufferings of the lower orders spring chiefly from their destitute situation, but that the *habits* which the want of capital produces, are those which operate most fatally in perpetuating its miseries. In truth, the greatest distinction in civilized life is between persons possessed of *property*, and persons who live solely on the *wages* of labour. On the one side of this great line of demarcation are to be found industry, intelligence, and foresight; on the other, privation, recklessness, and improvidence: from the one class springs the

* See note B, Appendix, for a very interesting account of the House of Refuge in Glasgow for Juvenile Offenders, and the good which it might do if adequately supported.

wealth which sustains, and the enterprise which animates all the branches of labour; from the other the poverty which consumes, and the indolence which paralyses, its exertions: in the one are nursed the habits which develope the laws of population, and adapt its increase to the circumstances of society; in the other, that morbid action of the principle of increase which becomes in itself the most prolific source of public suffering. A state is in a prosperous and healthy, or in a dangerous and diseased state, just in proportion as the class of proprietors approaches or recedes from that of indigent labourers. No splendour of opulence, no increase of numbers, no external appearance of prosperity, can prevent the inevitable operation of the causes which are destined to correct an excessive inequality in this particular, which leads by an irresistible progress to domestic revolution, or foreign subjugation.

The greatest object in civilized communities should always be to augment the class of proprietors, and diminish that of salaried workmen; to wean men from the quarter where misery is generated, and bring them over to that from whence prosperity arises, and where the limitations to population are in operation. It is by influencing their *habits* that this alone can be effected. To give them property without the course of life by which it has been acquired, is to give them only more extended means of licentiousness. It is not so much the possession of capital, as the habits by which it has been acquired, and the desire which those habits produce for its increase, which is of importance to the lower orders. It is not possible to give them all property; but experience proves that it is possible to give a large proportion the views of frugality, and the desire of amassing it. The example of Holland

proves, that the prevalence of such habits in the labouring classes, is not inconsistent with the highest state of commercial prosperity.

It is not so much absolute poverty which is the cause of the want of frugal habits among the poor, as the force of present desires. The sums amassed or the property realized by those whose wages are low, are frequently much greater than those which are accumulated by such as are in comparative affluence. The principle of accumulation exists to the greatest degree among the labourers of France, Norway, and Switzerland,* whose salaries are inconsiderable; but it is almost unknown among the manufacturers of Great Britain, who earn the highest wages. Greater sums are saved by the agricultural labourers or female domestics of this country, the former of whom receive from eighteen pence to half-a-crown a day, and the latter only six or eight pounds a year, than the skilled workmen, whose daily wages vary from four to six shillings.

The great cause of the dissipation of the wages of the labouring classes, is the passion for immediate excitation. The wages of the weavers of Glasgow and Manchester are converted by a very rapid process into whisky and gin; the earnings of the week rarely survive the commencement of the following one; and while their families frequently suffer the severest privations, the men themselves are generally for days together in a state of intoxication. Different nations have different means of excitement; ardent spirits in some, gaming in others, licentious indulgence and opium in a third; but in all the principle is the same, the desire for immediate physical excitation.

The only means of leading the people to resist these

* Baron de Stael, 81. Laing's Norway, 288–297. Coxe, ii. 222, 223.

instinctive impulses, is to give them other desires whose gratification requires their control. It is on this account that the growth of artificial wants is of such paramount importance to the lower orders; because they lead to the control of these ruinous desires, by the substitution of others, whose influence, when once introduced, is nearly as universal. But the habit of controlling present desires from the influence of artificial wants, when once acquired, leads to a principle of a still more valuable kind, the love of amassing *from the pleasure itself of possessing property.* This is by far the most important principle which can actuate the lower orders. Where it exists to a considerable extent, the dangers of a redundant population, the evils of pauperism, the rapid increase of crime are alike prevented. The best effect of agricultural labour is, that it fosters this principle, from the regularity of life which it induces, and the absence from temptation with which it is attended. The greatest evil of commercial industry is, that it tends to extinguish it, from the limited range of occupation which it requires, and the ruinous assemblages of the lower orders which it produces.

Manufacturing employment, however, is not in itself fatal to habits of frugality; on the contrary, it tends to encourage them where it is combined with separate dwellings, and rural residence. There is not in the world a more industrious and frugal set of men than the watch-makers of the Jura,* the straw manufacturers of the Val d'Arno,† the chintz workmen of Soleure,§ or the clothiers of Cumberland and the west of Yorkshire. The savings of these laborious men are all realized for the benefit of their families, and produce

* Coxe's Switzerland, ii. 217, 222, 223. † Chateauvieux, 42, 84.
‡ Agricultural Report for Yorkshire, 89.

those beautiful little properties which gratify the traveller in those delightful regions. On the other hand, there is not to be found among civilized nations, a more dissolute, improvident, or reckless race, than the silk-weavers of Lyons or Spitalfields,* the cotton manufacturers of Rouen or Manchester, or the muslin operatives of Glasgow and Paisley. How great soever their earnings may be, they are for the most part wasted in the lowest licentiousness; the recurrence of seasons of distress has no effect in inducing habits of economy; the revival of prosperity increases only the oceans of spirits which are swallowed; the return of depression sends their furniture to the pawnbrokers, their families to the workhouse.† It is the extension of machinery, the accumulation of men together, which produces these fatal effects. The man who could discover a mode of combining manufacturing skill with isolated labour and country residence, would do a greater service to humanity than the whole race of philosophers.

It is chimerical, however, to suppose, that, in the present state of human affairs, the assemblage of manufacturers together can be prevented, and, therefore, the important question comes to be, is it possible to diffuse habits of frugality, notwithstanding the tendency to improvidence which it induces?

The example of Holland is the great proof that the

* Dupin, Force Commercial, Vol. i. 72, 84.

† In the Savings Bank at Glasgow, in which L. 123,200 is lodged, and in which there are 15,000 depositors, the factory operative depositors are extremely limited as contrasted with their numbers, there being in all of that class only 1406, and their number is every year diminishing; while the number of domestic servants, who do not earn a fifth part of their wages, is no less than 2600, and their number is rapidly increasing. If the same economy prevailed in the former class as in the latter, there might with ease be ten thousand depositors, and their deposits amount to some hundred thousands a-year.—Report of Glasgow Savings Bank, 1840.

highest state of commercial prosperity, and the densest population, are not inconsistent with the establishment of frugal habits among the poor. The wealth of the United Provinces prior to the French Revolution was unparalleled; interest was at two and a half per cent.; their commerce extended over the whole habitable globe, and yet their labouring classes were the most frugal and provident in Europe.* If the causes of this remarkable circumstance are examined, it will be found that they arise chiefly from the ample *means of investment* which were afforded to the working population. Land was extremely subdivided, and in most of the great commercial concerns, particularly the fisheries, the whole persons employed were furnished with *small shares* in the adventure; thereby giving them all a lasting interest in its prosperity, and endowing them at once with the feelings and desires of the class of proprietors.† In like manner, if the motives which lead to the parsimonious habits of the Swiss, the Tuscan, or the French comté manufacturers be examined, it will be found that the desire of purchasing a little freehold, and the facility of doing so, is the chief cause of their prevalence; and the same cause stimulates the exertions, and cheers the life of the immense body of the French peasantry. ‡

In Scotland, the establishment of public banks, on secure foundations, which have long given interest on the smallest sums deposited, has been the great cause of the parsimonious habits, and unremitting industry of the people. It appeared from the evidence laid before the Parliamentary Committee, that upwards of *twenty millions* Sterling are deposited in the Scotch banks, chiefly *in sums under L. 50 each;* and so great

* Wealth of Nations, ii. 177. † Reisbeck's Travels, iii. 294, 302.

‡ Baron de Stael, p 81–84.

is the amount of the total savings of the nation in these establishments, that the operations of the Scotch bankers have always a great effect either in raising or depressing the government securities. To the fortunate establishment and secure foundation of these great depositaries for the public savings, the unexampled prosperity of Scotland during the last half century is mainly to be ascribed; for the public funds are too remote to influence the labouring classes, and the ruinous system of entails has excluded them from the natural investment of their capital. If it be really true, as the Scotch bankers alleged, that the suppression of the circulation of small notes, would have compelled them to desist from giving interest on the sums placed in their hands, the measures lately pressed upon Government by the advocates for free trade would have been the most ruinous which philosophy ever recommended to practical men.

Much was expected at their first establishment from *savings banks;* but although they have in many instances been of great service, their success upon the whole has greatly fallen short of public expectation. In places where the wages of the lower orders are the highest, as in Manchester and Glasgow, they have almost totally failed in the manufacturing class, for whom they were principally intended. The sums deposited in the public funds in the name of these banks is indeed considerable; but the greater part of it belongs to domestic servants or small tradesmen, or persons in a higher condition than those for whom they were intended, and who, by means of entries in fictitious names or other devices, frequently hold larger sums in them than the regulations admit. And in Scotland it has been found by experience, that the lower orders prefer depositing their money in the public banks to

placing it in establishments solely intended for their benefit; from a greater confidence in the stability of the former than the latter, and from an opinion, which is probably not altogether unfounded, that banks where a large proportion of the national wealth is deposited, and in whose prosperity a great part of the higher orders are interested, are more likely to be well managed, than those which depend solely on the benevolent exertions of philanthropic individuals.

The proper means of facilitating the acquisition of small capitals by the poor, must depend on the peculiar circumstances of every different country. In general, it may be affirmed, that, by placing small properties *in land* within their reach, the desire of accumulation will be more effectually developed, and habits of improvidence more completely controlled, than by any other measure that can possibly be devised. The reason is, that the love of the country is natural to the human mind, and its advantages require only to be seen to be appreciated; whereas the enjoyments of stock are less apparent, and the temptation to its expenditure more powerful. The distribution of small shares in commercial speculations is less beneficial, because it draws after it a ruinous responsibility for loss, and would probably prove too troublesome in practice to be generally adopted. The establishment of respectable public banks on secure foundations, to act like the Scotch bankers, as agents for the investment of the savings of the poor in the public funds, in order to encourage the *growth* of small capitals, coupled with an unrestricted freedom in the purchase of land for its *ultimate investment*, is the best system which has yet been devised in this country for the diffusion of these invaluable habits among the poor.

VI.—After all that can be done, however, to remove the depraved, and settle the indigent part of the people in more favourable situations, an ample mass of poverty will remain in great cities among persons who are incapable of doing anything for themselves. The aged, the sick, the infirm, cannot be removed to distant colonies; the paths of industry at home are closed by the competition of more fortunate rivals; the contagion of fever, or the weakness of age often reduces the most industrious to hopeless depression. It is upon this class that the efforts of CHARITY require to be incessantly exercised.

The benefit of charity to the objects who receive it is obvious, and requires no illustration. It is of more importance to obviate the *objections* which are frequently urged against its *ultimate effects*, and to combat the efforts which are incessantly made to restrict the circle to which it should be extended.

1. It is not unusual to hear it urged, that although without doubt the efforts of benevolence relieve distress in the first instance, yet its ultimate consequences are frequently hurtful. Charity, it is said, encourages idleness. The places where it is distributed are always surrounded by a crowd of beggars, who are withdrawn by the bounty of others from the paths of industry; and even if it were otherwise, it only removes for a short period the pressure of population upon subsistence, and throws upon the laborious poor the distress which should be felt only by the idle.

The fact, that monasteries or other establishments where the poor are relieved are always surrounded by beggars, is no indication that the poverty which is thus *collected* into one point is *created* by the bounty which they receive. It might as well be argued

that fever hospitals *create* the typhus fever, because they are always filled with patients labouring under that disorder. It is obvious, that if causes permanently exist which originate contagious disorders among the poor, the places where they are relieved must have many such patients; and in like manner, if there are causes which at all times produce indigence among the poor, the establishments where they receive support will never want inhabitants.

That there are causes permanently and universally operating in human affairs which unavoidably reduce a certain portion of the lower orders to circumstances of distress, is a fact attested alike by the universal experience of mankind, and the slightest observation of the actual state of the labouring classes. There never was a people among whom poverty and distress were not to be found; and the smallest acquaintance with the condition of the poor in civilized communities must be sufficient to demonstrate, that the causes of depression at least do not diminish with the progress of opulence. This being the case, the question comes to be, What is to be done with those of the poor who are unavoidably reduced, in the progress of society, by the chances of life to necessitous circumstances?

To leave them to perish, as a warning to others to avoid their misfortunes, is contrary alike to justice and expedience. Some of the distresses of the lower as of the higher classes, no doubt, arise from their own imprudence or depravity; but by far the greater portion spring from the casualties of life, which they can neither avert nor avoid. The higher orders, if placed in their circumstances, would not be more capable than they are of escaping either their distresses or their vices. The

reckless or licentious conduct which they so often exhibit is rather their misfortune than their fault. It is the worst effect of poverty to place its victims in circumstances where the acquisition of such habits is almost unavoidable.

Nor would such conduct be more distinguished by its impolicy than its injustice. If a considerable portion of the lower orders is irretrievably involved in penury and wretchedness, the dread of similar suffering is speedily diminished in the labouring classes. Men's minds insensibly become familiarized with what is constantly before their eyes. The terrors of imprisonment, so formidable to mankind in general, are wholly lost upon those who have frequently been the inmates of jails. Death itself, the most terrible object to those who are not familiar with its forms, loses its influence upon those who are daily witnesses to its ravages. In Paris, during the horrors of the Revolution, a ball was established of the first fashion, to which the only title of admission was the loss of a near relative by the guillotine, and the dress of the hair was made in imitation of the tying up the locks before execution.* The sailor beholds with indifference the rising of tempests, which strike terror into an ordinary mind; and the soldier sports with the dangers to which he may in a few hours fall a victim. It is the same with the disasters arising from misfortune or the sufferings of poverty: if the poor are made familiar with them, they will cease to be an object of dismay.

Universal experience corroborates this observation. The dread of poverty operates most strongly upon those who are farthest removed from its real dangers. A Jewish stock-broker has committed suicide, because

* Alison's History of Europe, ii. 638.

his fortune was reduced to L. 400,000; while a beggar sleeps in peace who does not know where his next meal is to be found. Improvidence and reckless habits uniformly prevail most among those who are reduced to the lowest stage of depression, and gradually disappear, when men have tasted of the comforts of civilized life. They are found universally among the labourers of Ireland; but they are comparatively rare among the cottagers of England.

To refuse relief to the poor, therefore, with a view to spread the terrors of poverty, and check the increase of numbers among the lower orders, is the most impolitic of all measures; because it defeats the precise object which is hoped for from its adoption. It aggravates private suffering, without diminishing public distress: it leaves the individual to perish, without lessening, but, on the contrary, rather increasing the numbers of those who are to become the victims of similar misfortune. It renders the people desperate, from a belief that their miseries are without a remedy; and generates poverty from the most prolific of all sources—indifference to the future among the poor. It is intended to prevent distress, by displaying its evils; it has the effects of producing it, by habituating to its terrors.

The relief of the poor, on the other hand, is founded alike on justice and expedience. If the evils of poverty are infinitely multiplied in civilized life, by the numbers of the poor who are accumulated together, equity demands that a portion of the wealth which their labour has produced should be devoted to their relief: if ruinous or profligate habits unavoidably attend such assemblages of the lower orders, humanity enjoins that a lenient eye should be thrown upon their fail-

ings. Nor is such conduct inconsistent with the best interests of the community. By relieving suffering, the destruction of an individual, frequently of a family, is obviated; by preventing distress from becoming excessive, the contagion of poverty is arrested, and the dread of falling into its difficulties preserved. The more extensively that relief is administered to the poor, the more is the standard of comfort supported, because the fewer are the victims of distress who are exhibited: the more that misery is relieved, the more is its reproduction rendered unlikely. Charity is intended to assuage suffering,—it has the effect of preventing it; it is suggested by private distress,—it produces public advantage.

To those who have considered the intimate connexion which everywhere subsists between the instinctive feelings of our nature, and the interests of humanity, it will readily occur, that a propensity so strongly and universally implanted in the human heart as that for the relief of suffering, cannot be attended with dangerous consequences; and that in yielding to the best feelings of our nature, for the happiness of an individual, we cannot be doing what is injurious to society. To those who recollect how frequently and earnestly it is enforced in Scripture as the first and greatest of the social duties, it will require no argument to prove, that an injunction flowing from Divine authority is calculated to produce beneficial consequences. It is consoling to reflect, that the conclusions of philosophy in this, as in other instances, are in unison with the feelings of humanity; and that the individual, in attending to the dictates of his own heart, or the Christian, in obeying the precepts of his

religion, is lending his little aid, not only to the relief of individual distress, but to the general improvement of the social system.

Let not, therefore, the humane doubt the tendency of natural instinct, or the selfish shelter their inhumanity under the cloak of philosophy. The interests of the individual are inseparably blended with that of the society to which he belongs: the feelings which spring in the heart from the sight of suffering, prompt the course best adapted not only for its relief but its prevention. The same Invisible Hand which provides in the growth of parental affection for the preservation of the species, has opened the fountains of mercy in the human heart; and, following the stream of beneficence through all its wanderings, renders it the means of blessing alike the hand which gives, the sorrow which supplicates, and the misery which is assuaged.

CHAPTER XII.

ON A LEGAL PROVISION FOR THE POOR.

ARGUMENT.

Variation of public opinion on the subject of legal relief for the Poor—Statement of the Question—Slavery universal in early times—It constitutes the transition from the indolence of Savage to the continued labour of Civilized Life—Provides for the Subsistence of the Destitute in these periods—Legal relief for destitute indispensable where society has assumed a complex form—Causes which there render it unavoidable—Principal one is the great inequality of Property—And it is nearly universal where such inequality exists—Advantages of such an assessment—It equalizes the burden on the community—Prevents the poor from being utterly degraded in their habits—Tends to diminish the prevalence of fraud and imposition—And to prevent the growth of a vicious and degraded population—Provides a fund capable of expansion or contraction according to circumstances—And is far more steady than voluntary Charity—Important and salutary effects of a legal provision for the Poor on the principle of Population—Prevents the growth of redundant and indigent numbers—Leads to no undue impulse to the principle of increase—Rather diminishes the diseased action of that principle—Prior to English Poor Laws evils of mendicity were severely felt there—The present state of England the best proof of their good effects—Principles of Assessment—And application of the Funds—Strong Injunctions to this social duty in the Gospel—No variance between them and the real interests of the Poor.

PUBLIC opinion has varied in a remarkable manner in regard to the expedience of establishments for the legal relief of the poor. For above a century, they were regarded as eminently beneficial, and as conferring upon England a proud superiority over other states. Within the last half century, they have been severely censured by political writers of the greatest ability, and have been stigmatized by a crowd of superficial followers in their train, as the greatest blemishes in our political system.

More recently, still, the truth of the unsparing condemnation of such institutions has been called in question; and much talent has been exerted to show that the dictates of humanity, and the injunctions of religion in this respect, are really in unison with the best interests of mankind. A candid consideration of the question will perhaps lead to the conclusion, that the enemies of a legal provision for the poor are mistaken in the dangerous consequences which they apprehend from its establishment; and that its supporters have as yet hardly sufficiently answered the objections brought forward by their opponents, nor pointed out the true effect of the system which they advocated.

It is no sufficient answer to the opponents of the poor laws to say, that their system is contrary to the dictates of humanity, or adverse to the precepts of religion. These circumstances will, doubtless, be always sufficient to induce the benevolent and the pious to support such establishments, in the firm belief that the inward Monitor which speaks in the human heart, and the Supreme Voice which has revealed the truths of Christianity, cannot prompt to an inexpedient course. But still the argument must be answered from other considerations. If the course thus suggested is expedient, reason must be sufficient to show in what way the benefit accrues, and the relief of the individual is reconciled with the permanent interests of mankind.

In like manner, if it be true, as is urged on the other side, that the legal relief of distress is destructive to the habits of the people, and productive of more misery than it assuages, it becomes a very serious matter, to consider whether a system should be persevered in, which ultimately leads to such conse-

quences; and whether, in supporting it, we do not resemble the indulgent parent, who, from the desire of saving momentary distress to her child, ruins its happiness and its usefulness for life.

It is proposed, therefore, to divest this question of all the warmth which has recently been introduced into its discussion; to regard the opponents of the system as actuated by the same benevolent motives with its supporters; and to consider coolly whether the evils usually ascribed to its adoption are fairly deduced from it, and whether its beneficial consequences do not outweigh its supposed disadvantages.

The vindication of a legal provision for the poor may be securely rested on three grounds: 1. Its absolute necessity, where society exists in a complicated form; 2. Its beneficial effects upon the present objects of distress; 3. Its salutary tendency to counterbalance the inequalities of property, and prevent a diseased action in the principle of population.

I.—In the first stages of society, SLAVERY is almost everywhere to be found. It is not peculiar to one era of history, or one quarter of the globe; in all ages it presents itself among nations who have arrived at a certain stage of civilisation. Among the Greeks and Romans, the Persians, Egyptians, and Carthaginians of antiquity; and among the Anglo-Saxons, Normans, Germans, French, Poles, and Russians of modern Europe, its well known features are to be discerned. Even the Scythian tribes, whose passion for freedom has laid the foundation of the liberty of modern Europe, made war chiefly for the sake of the captives whom they carried off in their expedi-

tions: the population of the empire was principally owing to their predatory incursions; and when they settled themselves on its ruins, the greater proportion of the inhabitants were reduced to a state of servitude from which few of their descendants escaped for a thousand years.*

To conclude from these facts, that a state of slavery is natural to man, would be too rash an inference. It seems more rational to infer, that it is an unavoidable step in a certain stage of society; and a minuter examination will perhaps warrant the opinion, that in that stage it is essential to the welfare of the species, and becomes a public evil only from its continuance after the period of its necessity has passed.

In the hunter or shepherd state, where wealth and inequality of condition are unknown, the whole inhabitants of a tribe may be free, because all possess equally the means of acquiring subsistence. Slavery in such circumstances will generally be found only among the captives made in war or predatory excursions. This is the state of society in Tartary, Arabia, and the desert districts of Persia. But where society begins to assume a complicated form, where land is subdivided, property accumulated, and the permanent labours of agriculture commenced, *slavery results unavoidably from the dependent condition of the labouring classes.* During the long periods of anarchy which precede the establishment of settled government, or individual protection, when private rapine is universal, every chief a robber, and every war a system of plunder, there is no possible security to the labouring classes, but in the shelter of walled cities; or

* Sismondi, Hist. de France, i. 273, 283.

the protection of feudal masters. Slavery in these melancholy times is the sole condition on which life or subsistence can be purchased. Unless the peasant is the property of his master, he has no legitimate title to claim his protection, nor any interest to excite in his behalf.

In truth, in this, as in all other instances, it will be found, that whenever a particular system is found to prevail universally among men, and it is such as does not obviously flow from the corrupt principles of our nature, it has arisen from reasons of obvious necessity, and, while it continues, is, upon the whole, beneficial in its tendency. The institution of slavery, so much and justly the object of detestation in the civilized ages of the world, is in fact productive of the most beneficial effect at the period where it first arises, and may be regarded as a step altogether indispensable in the progress of improvement. If we reflect on the extreme indolence which everywhere characterizes, and has in all ages characterized the savage nations of the globe, it will at once appear, that the important step of transforming such indolent wanderers in the woods, into the laborious members of civilized life, could never have been effected but by the compulsion of power. Universally, accordingly, it will be found that the persons who work in rude ages are almost exclusively slaves, and that the principal object for which that degraded class of men is sought for with such avidity, in these stages of society, is in order to throw upon them the burden of those laborious manual operations which the free inhabitants were unwilling to undertake themselves. It is a sufficient indication of the length to which this system prevailed, that ancient

history has recorded that in Athens there were only 21,000 citizens, and 400,000 slaves ;* while in Rome, even under the emperors, it was deemed hazardous to propose a separate habit for the slaves, lest it should be seen how few the freemen were in comparison. Slavery, in short, fills up the gap, the long intervening chasm between the termination of the universal indolence and equality of savage life, and the commencement of the voluntary chain, which, through the desire for artificial enjoyments, binds the freemen to labour ; and but for its existence the step from the one state of society to the other never could have been effected.

War is the great instrument by which slaves are multiplied, and the desire of obtaining them, either as a source of profit or a means of use, constitutes one of the principal objects which leads uncivilized nations into a state of hostility. In such circumstances, however, it is an unquestionable advantage both to mankind and the captives themselves, that in this stage of society there should exist such a means of arresting the passions of the conqueror. But for it bloodshed would universally follow the steps of hostile armies ; and every victory, like the inroad of the Tartar tribes, would have been followed by an indiscriminate slaughter of all the inhabitants who could be reached of the vanquished states. It is of incalculable importance, in such circumstances, to interpose the passion for gain between the heart of the captive and the point of the victor's sword ; and render self-interest, in an age when feelings of justice and humanity would probably have little influence, the means of mitigating the most dreadful calamities which man can inflict upon man ; and thus while the institution of slavery is the great

* Gillies's Greece, v. 452.

means whereby in rude times the poor are maintained during sickness and old age, and the earth is first brought into a state of cultivation; so it is not less instrumental in checking the ferocity of early warfare, and putting the only bridle upon human passion that could be effectual into the mouth of the conqueror.

As long as the great majority of the lower orders remain in this degraded state, their subsistence is secured in periods of distress, sickness, or old age, by the interest of the masters to whom they belong. The slaves upon an estate, still in Russia, and in the West Indies lately, form the principal part of its value. They are provided for, therefore, by the same motives which lead to the preservation of the cattle, or buildings, or implements on the property. The proprietor is conscious that he would be a loser by their destruction. When the dreadful disorders of society in its first stages are considered,—the universality of predatory war,—the cruelty of hostile contentions,—the massacres of public armies,—the violence of private feuds, the general passion for blood,—and the total want of humane feeling,—it appears perfectly obvious that unless the labouring classes were the property of their superiors, they would speedily be exterminated. Bad as the condition of the rural slaves were in those periods, they would have been in far worse circumstances if they had all been free. If any person doubts the truth of these observations, let him read the narrative of the wars after the battle of Poitiers, and the resurrection of the Jacquerie in France;* the History of England during the reign of Stephen;†

* Froissart; Sismondi, Hist. de France, x. p. 533–43, 580.

† Hume, ii. 353–364.

that of Scotland for a century after the first invasion of Edward I.;* or examine the present state of Persia, Circassia, and the northern provinces of India, in the works of Porter,† Fraser,‡ and Bishop Heber.§

As slavery arises naturally from the weakness of government, and the disorders of society in its earlier stages, so, like all the other institutions of Nature, it is fitted in those circumstances to minister to the relief of human suffering. The slavery of rude periods is very different from that of civilized life; that of the Roman commonwealth or the Russian plains from that of the West Indies. We learn from ancient writers that the slaves in Italy worked in the fields and eat at meals with their masters.‖ In the east the condition of slaves is merely that of menial servants, and frequently leads to the highest confidence or the greatest situations;¶ and even under the Russian empire, there is much in the condition of the peasantry, which the enfranchised poor of Europe have cause to envy.** Care in sickness, maintenance in old age, and security for their offspring, are advantages of inestimable importance to the poor in rude periods, when the means of accumulating property do not exist.†† A striking instance of this recently occurred in Greece, where the restoration of the captives after the evacuation of the Morea by Ibrahim Pacha took place. The women who had been carried off by the Egyptian soldiers, could not be persuaded to leave their masters; and out of 600 who had been sold in Egypt, only 11

* Tytler's Scotland, i. p. 184, and ii. p. 265.
† Porter's Travels, ii. 169–203.
‡ Fraser's Travels in Persia, i. p. 274. § Heber, ii. 5 and 20.
‖ Virgil, Georgics. ¶ Volney. ** Clarke, i. 221.
†† Clarke, i. 90–170.

would accept their liberty.* And in South America, while the condition of the native Indians who are free, is beyond measure wretched, and above *eight millions* have perished from the effects of barbarous treatment in the mines of Peru;† the condition of the negro slaves is comparatively comfortable, and they are placed nearer an equality with their masters, than the servants of Europe.‡

This explains the true cause of the remarkable fact, that at no period of ancient history was it found necessary to levy a tax on the higher classes for the support of the poor. Colonization was frequently embraced as a measure of expedience by all their republican states, but it was the clamorous rabble of towns who were chiefly drawn off in this way;§ and the object was not so much to relieve distress, as to allay discontent, or extinguish faction.‖ In modern times, it was with the growth of freedom that the burden of the poor first began to be felt. It was unknown during the reigns of the Plantagenets in England, and of the earlier princes of the Stuart race in Scotland; but in both countries it soon became intolerable, when the emancipation of the peasantry had deprived them of their claim for support from their feudal lords, and the suppression of the monasteries had cut off the usual sources from which mendicity was maintained.¶ The statute of Elizabeth in England,** and the act 1579†† in Scotland, arose about the same time, from the experience of one common public suffering, and ministered to the relief

* Smyrna Courier, Oct. 25, 1828. † Miller's Life, i. 5.
‡ Miller's Life, i. 29. § Mitford's Greece.
‖ Mitford's Greece, ii. 37, 42. Ferguson's Rome, i. 274.
¶ Blackstone, i. 359. ** 43d Elizabeth, c. 2. †† 1579, c. 74.

of an evil to which all lesser remedies had been found to be inadequate. In like manner poor's-rates are unknown in Russia, Poland, Hungary, and Moravia, where the poor, being generally the property of their masters, have a legal claim upon them for support: but they have successively been established in England, Scotland, France, Flanders, Austria, and Prussia, where freedom have for centuries prevailed; and are now to be found even among the mountains of Switzerland,* and the rocks of Norway.†

In the earlier stages of society, therefore, the necessity of a legal provision for the poor is not experienced, because they fall as a burden upon the proprietors to whose property they are attached. It is no more necessary to have a tax for the relief of the indigent, than to have one for the support of the horses or cattle on the estates of the landholders. And, in truth, in these periods, when personal safety is so precarious, rapine so frequent, and poverty so universal, it is well for the poor that their existence is secured by a stronger motive than either the justice or the humanity of their superiors.

In some favourable situations it may, for a limited period, happen that, after the emancipation of the lower orders from rural or domestic servitude, the necessity for a legal provision for the poor may not be felt. This was the case in Scotland generally for nearly a century after the Union with England, and it obtains in some rural districts to this day. Where manners are simple, manufactures rare, and landlords resident, the rural population may subsist for a considerable period, with no other support in distress but

* Statistique de la Suisse, p. 171–176.

† Clarke's Travels, x. p. 244–245.

the charity of their neighbours, or the generosity of their superiors. The countries where this is practicable may all be known by one test. It is where the *class of proprietors is considerable compared to that of indigent labourers.* In small towns, for example, without manufactures, inhabited by a considerable number of substantial burghers, to whom all the poor in their neighbourhood are personally known, the relief of distress may, for a long period, be effected by voluntary charity. In rural districts, also, like La Vendée,* or some parts of the Lowlands of Scotland, where estates are of moderate dimensions, landed proprietors generally resident, and labourers all individually known to their employers, the maintenance of the poor may be effected in the same way, and the class of paupers reduced to a small number of old women or bastard children.

But the case is widely different when society assumes a complicated form; when wealth accumulates in cities, and indigence is assembled by its attractions; when the poor cease to be known to their superiors, and opulence is severed from the hands which created it; when humanity recoils from misery which it cannot relieve, and religion from vice which it cannot subdue. It is in these circumstances, the well-known attendants of commercial grandeur, that mendicity advances with so frightful a pace, and all the ordinary means of relieving distress are absorbed in the squalid multitude who present themselves for support. Causes superior to earthly power,—contingencies unavoidable by human foresight,—misfortunes inseparable from the state of society,—precipitate numbers into indigence from which they cannot escape. The ravages of fever,

* Mad. de la Rochejaquelin's, Introduction, p. 17–3.

frequently prostrate whole districts of poor, and compel their families to pawn their last rags to support nature during the lingering months of convalescence.* Death cuts off the parents of a numerous offspring, and turns the young into the streets, where they are unknown to the good, but gladly received by the wicked; the vicissitudes of commercial industry paralyze the labours of thousands, and make the winds and the waves, the jealousies of cabinets, or the follies of mercantile speculation, the instruments of fortune to mankind. These are the features which society exhibits in its opulent and advanced stages: it is with these gigantic difficulties that benevolence has to contend in commercial states; and unless it grapples with these causes of distress, no system for the relief of the poor is deserving of support.

To leave the poor in these circumstances to the voluntary support of the rich, is to leave them to a class who neither can nor will maintain them. They are brought together in such numbers, in consequence of the extraordinary encouragement of prosperous years, that the contributions of the rich in their vicinity, if carried to the utmost possible extent, are *wholly inadequate* to afford them relief: they are tempted to enter into employments which afford them subsistence for a few years, and shortly after, from the failure of mercantile enterprise, turn them loose upon the world, in the midst of thousands in a similar situation: they are crowded together in such numbers, and in situations so shocking, that the most unbounded charity is unable to discover the multitude of its objects, or shrinks from the scenes of horror which they exhibit.

* Report on the Poor, 1837.

What is worst of all, they are placed in circumstances where *vice* spreads its contagious influence, and poisons the sources of human prosperity even in the privacy of domestic families. When this is the case; when society exists in this complicated and artificial form; and when so many causes exist to throw the poor into situations where voluntary charity can never reach them, it seems impossible to deny that a legal assessment is the only mode which can be devised for their permanent and effectual relief.

Every one who is at all acquainted with the details of poverty in his own neighbourhood, and has the least knowledge of the private history of the different individuals who compose the indigent part of every community, must be aware, that the great mass of human suffering is to be found among those who have no natural connection with the people among whom they are placed; among persons who have been brought together from different quarters, who have lost the persons upon whom their dependence was placed, and who are strangers to all the neighbourhood, save only their own narrow and indigent circle. The widows or the children of soldiers who have been quartered in a particular town; of workmen who have been tempted to enter into an once flourishing manufactory; of sailors who have been lost in the various perils to which they are exposed; of labourers who have been thrown out of employment by the failure of mercantile enterprise, or who have lost their support by the pressure of continued or severe disease, are crowded together in situations where they are wholly unknown, and where the frightful mass of accumulated poverty prevents any individual from obtaining adequate relief. The

poor who are placed in this unfortunate situation, at the moment when they are most incapable of obtaining relief, are exposed to the severest and the most aggravated misfortunes. They are surrounded by the indigent, the profligate, and the desperate; they are exposed to the contagion of disease, to the pressure of want, and the incessant influence of an unhealthy atmosphere; they are familiarized to the appearance of vice in all its forms, and compelled to associate with the wicked in their most degraded circles. The history of every great town in the kingdom affords melancholy proof, that this statement is in no respect exaggerated; that in many instances, on the contrary, it greatly falls short of the truth.

Nor is it only in manufacturing or commercial districts that these causes for the increase of pauperism prevail. *Where great inequality in the distribution of property is to be found, mendicity uniformly exists.* In some states so situated it may be disregarded, though never without ultimate and deserved retribution; in others left to the care of the church, or of charitable establishments; in all it is to be found. Ireland exhibits a melancholy example of the prodigious extent to which poverty may spread in a country almost wholly agricultural, and destitute of any of the extraordinary causes of distress which flow from commercial enterprise. The innumerable beggars of the kingdom of Naples demonstrate that it spreads with the growth of opulence, under circumstances the most unfavourable to the multiplication of the people.* The charitable establishments of Milan support the numerous poor whom the wealth of that metropolis

* Kotzebue's Travels, ii. 274, 363.

has attracted to its walls; and, from the pious bequests of their founders, distribute annually a larger sum to the indigent than could be levied by the severest parochial assessment. Its hospitals and charitable institutions are on a scale of magnificence unknown in Protestant states: the expenditure of one alone, derived from territorial possessions, is above *forty thousand a-year;* and the income of the whole is nearly L. 120,000. * The sums levied for the maintenance of the poor in Paris amounts to no less than L. 500,000; and one-tenth of the whole population annually pass through, and one-fifth die in the public hospitals. † The kingdom of the Netherlands has experienced the necessity of adopting legal measures for the relief of its poor, whose numbers have very greatly increased of late years, ‡ even in the agricultural districts; and the same system has been followed in the more opulent parts of Switzerland, where the enactments of the English poor laws have, with very little variation, been adopted. § The English have little cause to congratulate themselves on the long-continued absence of poor laws in Ireland, or to point to that country as an example of the possibility of dispensing with such a burden. The public charities of Dublin absorb no less than L.184,000 of the public funds of Great Britain; ‖ and in every city of the empire, the prevailing distress, and the largest portion of mendicity is owing to the Irish settlers. ¶

* Young's Travels, ii. p. 127, 134; Duncan's Collections regarding the Poor, p. 4.

† Chateauvieux, 49. Magendie. Appendix to Poor Law Report, 42.

‡ Etat. du Pays Bas, p. 172. § Statistique de la Suisse, 147; Simond.

‖ Parl. Rep. 1827. ¶ Report on the Poor, 1828. Irish Poor Law Report, 1838.

A great deal of interesting and important information on this subject has been collected by the English Poor Law Commissioners, and is to be found in the valuable Appendix annexed to their Report on the state of the labouring classes in England. It appears from the information thus collected, that legal establishments for the relief of the poor are universal in all parts of the continent where society exists in a complicated form, and the people are exposed to the destitution of freedom; nay, the necessity of providing for their relief in this manner has been felt so universally, that an impost for the relief of the poor has long been established in many Mahometan states. The great commercial wealth, frugal habits, and admirable domestic economy of the Dutch,* have proved as inadequate to relieve society from the necessity of this burden, as the simple manners, wide spread division of landed property, and great prevalence of moral restraint upon marriage in Norway.† Poor rates are to be found in all the principal towns in France; in Paris they amount to nearly L.500,000 a year; over all France, to L.1,800,000, fully as much a head on the burdened districts which comprise all the towns as in England;‡ a sum which, considering that the French metropolis does not contain half the number of inhabitants that the English does, and the difference in the value of money in the two countries, is

* The cost of the poor annually in Holland is about L.500,000, in a population of 2,148,000 persons. App. to First Poor Law Report, F. 575.

† Nowhere is a better provision made for the poor than in Norway. Every person, according to his circumstances, is obliged to maintain one or more of the aged and decrepid poor. Clarke's Travels, x. 245.

‡ Magendie, App. F. 42.

probably equivalent to at least L.1,300,000 a-year imposed upon the city of London. Poor's rates are established in all the principal parts of the Austrian dominions; and in Venice in particular, where the misery of the people, from the decay of commerce, had fallen to the lowest pitch, amount with voluntary bequests to nearly L. 100,000 a-year,—a prodigious but not uncalled for burden on a city now reduced to 112,000 inhabitants.* They are established generally in the Swiss cantons†, as well as in Sweden, in Prussia, Denmark, and most of the German States;‡ Siberia itself has its poor's rates,§ and even the vast demand for labour and boundless capability of improvement which the extent of waste land has afforded in the American States, has not relieved them from the same necessity, and in some of their maritime districts the poor's rates are as heavy as in many parts of England. So universal, in fact, is the practice of assessing for the poor in all those situations where, from the complicated state of society, it naturally becomes unavoidable, that experience has justified the truth of the profound saying which long ago fell from Dr Johnson, "a decent legal provision for the poor is the true test of civilisation."

The real cause of this experienced necessity for a legal provision for the poor is to be found in the INEQUALITY OF PROPERTY, which arises in the progress of society. If an hundred thousand proprietors

* Appendix to Poor Law Report, F. 663. Turnbull's Austria, i. 59–64.

† Kasthofer Voyage dans les petits Cantons de la Suisse, 87, 94.

‡ Turnbull's Austria, i. 59–62.

§ In the State of New York in 1833, the paupers were 36,000, and their cost L. 42,000 a-year. In Philadelphia, L. 33,000, in a population of 147,000 App. F. to Poor Law Report, 137–156.

are scattered among a million of labourers who live by wages, the indigent of the latter class may possibly be maintained by the voluntary charity of the former; because the disproportion between them is not so excessive as to render the exciting misery either unknown or irremediable to their superiors. This will more especially be the case if the poor are scattered through the country, and the men of property diffused among them. But if ten thousand persons possessed of some fortune are surrounded by a *million* of indigent labourers, the proportion is so materially changed as to render the condition of the poor utterly desperate, if not supported by public assessment. The casualties among so large a body of labourers are such as can neither be known nor relieved by their superiors: the accumulation of the poor in such immense masses renders all voluntary measures of relief utterly unavailing. The voluntary contribution of the inhabitants may support a few foraging parties or detached regiments in the theatre of war; but when masses of several hundred thousand men are brought together, forced requisitions soon become unavoidable.

The tendency of wealth, in highly civilized periods of society, unquestionably is to accumulate in the hands of a few. The lower orders find that it is in general all they can do to live without attempting the acquisition of property. The higher and middling ranks, in a free state, are incessantly accumulating: but there is hardly any thing saved by the numerous class of operative workmen. The increasing wants of a luxurious age; the rapid growth of comforts and luxuries in all ranks above the lowest; the augmented expenditure of the middling classes, all tend

to swell the ranks of the dependent orders, and to accumulate, round the seats of opulence, an immense array of destitute and unknown individuals. The growth of national wealth constantly increases this disproportion between the class of proprietors and that of mere labourers. If any of the lower orders rise into a higher sphere, they immediately acquire the habits, and are transferred into the ranks of the wealthy, and by their expenditure contribute to increase the class from which they have emerged. Out of an hundred thousand labourers, it may not be unusual to find two hundred who have risen to comfort, and several of whom had even made fortunes: but it would be altogether impossible to find twenty thousand who had realized an independence for life in their humble sphere. A large proportion of the higher and middling ranks transmit fortunes to their posterity, won by their own exertions; but the offspring of almost all the poor are doomed to the same unvarying life of labour which their fathers have led.

So strongly had the operation of these causes been experienced in the Roman empire, that, at the capture of the city by Alaric, as already mentioned, the race of small proprietors had entirely disappeared from the Italian plains, and the capital was inhabited by 1760 great families, who cultivated their ample estates by means of slaves, and, by their expenditure, maintained a debased and indigent rabble in the metropolis of 1,200,000 persons.* In England, in like manner, it appeared from the returns made under the property tax, as already noticed, that while 3,440,000 persons were stipendiary and lived by wages, only 60,000

* Ammianus Marcellinus, xiv. 6.

were proprietors.* Whoever attends to the progress of opulence, in a wealthy or commercial state, must be convinced that this change in the state of property is almost unavoidable. Moderate fortunes, in such circumstances, seldom continue unchanged for many generations; their possessors either become rich or lose what they have acquired; the poor find them unable to maintain a struggle with persons of capital, and insensibly sink into a state of dependence on those who have the means of employing them.

It is from this cause, from the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few, and the multiplication of labourers without property, that the necessity of poor laws, in the advanced stages of society, arises. It is not felt in rude periods, because the poor are considered as the property of their masters, and are maintained by the persons to whom they belong; it is not felt in a primitive state of society, because the free labourers are free in number in proportion to the class of proprietors: but it becomes indispensable in its advanced stages, because the growth of opulence is confined to a limited class, and the increase of the poor bears so great a proportion to that of the persons who can either employ or relieve them.

The necessity of resorting to legal measures for the attainment of this object may safely be inferred from its universal adoption. It is not to be supposed that the rich in England, Scotland, France, Switzerland, Austria, Flanders, Norway, and so many other states would concur in submitting to so grievous a burden, if it were not felt to be unavoidable. In England, the poor's rates, during the late war, amounted to more

* Colquhoun on the Wealth of Great Britain, p. 107–111.

than half the income tax; and in Scotland, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the landed proprietors to avert the burden, it has been found impossible to dispense with them, wherever manufactures have been established, or opulence fixed its residence. The common consent of mankind cannot be referred to as indicating any general truth, where interest prompts the course which they adopt: but where, as in the present instance, interest leads the other way, it can only be referred to the experience of a common necessity.

If these observations be well founded it follows, that the imposition of this burden on the class of proprietors, in the advanced stages of society, is supported by the first principles of *justice*. The accumulation of the labouring classes in great masses in the employment of their superiors is eminently favourable to the increase of wealth. The profits made by master manufacturers or merchants, who have numbers of the poor in their employment, are prodigious. Of this the opulence of the manufacturing districts of England at this day, and of Flanders or Tuscany in the fifteenth century, affords ample proof. All the other classes share in the advantages of the wealth which is thus created: the agriculturists in the increased market for their produce which is opened; the tradesmen and artificers in the augmented demand for their productions to which it gives rise. The operative workmen, perhaps, share least in the advantages of the wealth which their industry has created: degraded and demoralized by the habits which it induces, they are almost precluded from acquiring any permanent benefits from the skill which they possess. In these circumstances, the security of a provision in sickness or old age is nothing

more than a fair compensation for the risks which they run, and the contamination to which they are exposed: for health which is undermined, morals which are corrupted, foresight which is destroyed, sensuality which is disseminated. To resist such evils is as impossible, in certain circumstances, as for soldiers to preserve their health amidst the dysenteries of the camp, or the contagion of the hospital: to relieve them so far as human aid can go, is the duty equally of a wise general and a beneficent government.

II.—The advantages of a compulsory assessment for the relief of the poor are equally great upon the persons who are subjected to the burden, and those who receive the relief.

1. It is one of the best effects of such a system, that it tends to equalize the burden of maintaining the indigent, which otherwise would fall exclusively on a limited class of society.

There is no person practically acquainted with these matters who must not be aware of the prodigious difference between the sum realized by a *subscription* and that of an *assessment.* The latter, without being more burdensome to the humane, produces generally ten times what the former will raise. The reason is obvious. The charitable only come forward in support of a subscription; but the charitable and the selfish are equally reached by an assessment. Experience has demonstrated, that the latter are at least five times as numerous, and ten times as opulent, as the former: when, therefore, the necessity for imposing a burden has arisen, it is the height of injustice to let that which should be borne equally by all, fall exclusively upon the class who are least able to bear it.

It is the selfish for the most part who bring the labouring classes into that crowded state where legal relief becomes indispensable. The extravagant expenditure of the opulent,—the competition of master manufacturers,—the encouragement of commercial enterprise,—afford the inducements which draw the poor into great cities, and leave them to starve after the purposes of their assembling have been served. Under the system of voluntary charity these poor labourers would all be thrown upon the benevolent; few of whom had any share in bringing them into their unfortunate situation; while the persons who had realized fortunes by their exertions would escape altogether the burden which they had entailed upon their vicinity. It has been said that the manufacturers create the poor, and leave it to the landholders to feed them. With more justice it may be asserted, that the opulent of every class assemble the poor, and leave it to persons of moderate income to relieve their distresses.*

Nothing is so easy as for the selfish to escape the burden of relieving misery. By issuing a standing order to their servants to reject all subscription papers and applications for money; by avoiding the spectacle of misery wherever it presents itself; by never approaching any meetings where pecuniary demands are likely to be made, the rich not only secure their purses from the burden of charity, but their minds from the pain of witnessing suffering. The poor

* Commercial opulence must often be excepted from these remarks: the subscriptions of merchants are often splendid. In Glasgow the subscriptions of several of the leading houses amount to L. 800 or L.1200 annually; some are as high as L. 2000 a-year: but still these splendid donations are unable to relieve the misery of the destitute, which is annually and fearfully increasing.

cease to importune persons from whom they find they can get nothing, and reserve all their exertions for those upon whom they discover an impression can be made. Thus the rich remain in ignorance of the very misery which their expenditure has created; while persons in an humbler station are severely taxed for the relief of distress which their means are unable to alleviate, but their experience has taught them to pity. The celebrated story of the French princess, who expressed her astonishment at the poor dying of hunger when they might eat bread and cheese, is an example of the total ignorance of the existence of suffering which arises from the habits of polished society, and prevails among those who are most able to mitigate its severity.

Even when the rich are charitably disposed, they seldom come forward for the relief of distress in proportion to their real fortunes. A man of L.1000 a-year gives a guinea for a subscription; but a landholder of L. 10,000 a year does not for the same purpose give ten. Setting aside subscriptions for the purposes of politics or ostentation, it will rarely be found that the higher orders, in proportion to their fortunes, give to the purposes of *real* charity one-fifth as much as persons in the middling stations. The slightest observation must be sufficient to demonstrate this. The multiplied expenses attendant on rank or opulence; the ignorance of distress which arises from being far removed from it; the selfishness contracted by a life of continued indulgence, dry up the springs of charity even in the most benevolent bosoms. Paradoxical as it may appear, it is abundantly proved by experience, that persons of moderate income have both more

wealth at their command for the purposes of humanity, and bestow it more cheerfully, than those who enjoy the greatest fortunes. A British peer sometimes scruples to give a few shillings to an object in distress, while the Irish cottar will share his last meal with the beggar who seeks shelter in his hovel from the storm.

It is the experience of this reluctance on the part of the affluent to relieve the poor, whom the fluctuations in their employment have reduced to misery, which is the real cause of the progressive introduction of the poor laws into all countries where the middling orders have acquired any influence in the administration of affairs. Examine the parishes in Scotland where a legal assessment has recently been introduced, and it will in general be found that the reason assigned is, that manufacturers had augmented the number of the poor, and that the higher orders refused to contribute at all to their support, or did so in so scanty a manner as to render an assessment unavoidable. There is something intolerably grating to the industrious and humane in seeing many of the rich contribute nothing towards the relief of distress, which springs from the crowds whom their expenditure has brought together. A poor's rate corrects this crying injustice, and, by bringing the vast funds of the selfish to bear upon the support of the poor, both lightens the burden of the charitable, and assuages the sufferings of the unfortunate.

The clamour so frequently raised against the poor laws arises from this cause, and is in truth the clearest indication of the good which it does. It proceeds from the vexation of the selfish at being *obliged* to

contribute towards the support of the poor; a burden which they are clearly of opinion had better be exclusively laid on their poorer but more indulgent brethren. The existence of this complaint is the best proof of the equalising tendency of the system: it resembles the outcry of the French noblesse when they were taxed for the support of the state. The voluntary system in regard to the poor, as in regard to church establishments, may be correctly designated "A system for the better relief of the opulent and selfish, and laying the whole burden of the poor whom they have created, on the charitable and humane."

2. It is another important consequence of a legal provision for the poor, that it tends to prevent that degradation of the lower orders, which arises from the necessity of soliciting individual charity, and that unequal distribution of relief which results from the unwillingness to submit to its humiliations.

It would no doubt be highly desirable if the poorer classes in great cities could be brought to maintain themselves by their economy, just as it would be, if they could be retained in the virtue of rural life, or preserved from the contagion of urban diseases. But since experience has demonstrated, that the one, not less than the other, is rendered impracticable by the multiplied temptations and disasters to which they are exposed, the question comes to be, in what way can the relief which must be administered be furnished in the way least likely to degrade the supplicants? In other words, are they most likely to be sunk in their own esteem, and that of their fellow-citizens, by being compelled to solicit individual charity, or by urging their claim upon the public funds?

If such a question were proposed to a person in the higher orders of life, there can be no doubt what answer it would receive. There is no degradation in accepting relief from the public, but infinite, in receiving it from individuals. Persons in the highest situations are not only willing, but anxious to receive the retired allowances which belong to their offices: officers of the nicest feelings of honour accept pensions for the wounds they have received: families of the most exalted rank, are often indebted to the civil list for the only means of subsistence which they enjoy. If it were to be gravely stated to one of these public stipendiaries, that their character was irrecoverably degraded by receiving support from Government, and that they had much better send round a subscription paper, and raise the same sum by private solicitation, all the world would laugh at the proposal. Yet, by an unaccountable perversion, such a system is considered by many writers, as the only mode of maintaining the character of the poor; and means of obtaining relief, which would be spurned by every man of independent feelings in the higher ranks, are seriously recommended as the only method of nursing those feelings in the lower.

It is evident, however, that this view of the effect of poor laws is entirely fallacious. There is no such difference between the higher and lower classes of society, as to render a measure which would destroy the spirit of the one instrumental in developing that of the other. It is just as grating to a poor man who has known better days, to solicit private charity, as for a nobleman to do so. The facility with which a large portion of the indigent are brought to a state of mendicity arises entirely from the state of destitution to

which they are reduced, and the obliteration of all better feelings, by the constant spectacle of misery before their eyes. If the rich were placed in the same circumstances they would speedily find themselves reduced to the same necessity.

The poor in Great Britain consider it no degradation to receive a Chelsea pension, or an allowance from Greenwich Hospital. Why should the accepting of parochial relief stand in a different situation? Labourers who have grown gray in the service of their country; families who have lost their means of livelihood by the early death of their parents; widows who are bereaved of their husbands, with infant families to bring up,—are just as much entitled in the eyes of God and man, to public support, as the soldier who has been wounded in the field of battle, or the sailor who has been wasted amidst the triumphs of the navy. It is not the military defenders of the state who alone have a claim on its bounty; the humble labourers whose exertions have produced the wealth by which the whole fabric of society is maintained, are not less deserving of public aid. But for their incessant toil, the domestic comfort, and the external glory of the state, would be alike unknown; and in the industry of the husbandmen and manufacturers we must look for the remote causes of the triumphs of Trafalgar and Waterloo.

It is by comparing the poor who receive parochial relief, with those who maintain themselves in honest independence by their own exertions, that the advocates for voluntary charity can alone give plausibility to their opinions. But if it be once established that relief of *some sort* is unavoidable, for a large portion of the poor in a complicated state of society, the question becomes totally different, and is reduced to a com-

parison between the poor supported by the public, and those relieved by individual charity. Upon this point there is hardly room for argument. It may infer a certain degradation to apply at a public office for relief to which the applicant has a *legal* claim; but it certainly infers a far greater to beg from door to door upon the *chance* of moving the feelings of the benevolent. In such an employment there is necessarily involved submission to insult, change of occupation, precarious subsistence, strong temptation to falsehood; in the former no greater humiliation than attends the disclosure of distress. The difference between the two is just as great as between the situation of a merchant who receives support at once from a banking house, and that of one who is reduced to avert bankruptcy, by borrowing a few pounds from every friend he meets.

It is one of the worst effects of compelling the poor to supplicate the humane for relief, that it unavoidably leads to a system of fraud and imposition among the most successful candidates for charity, and throws into obscurity the sufferings of the less obtrusive, but not less miserable part of the community. The reason of this is to be found, not in any extraordinary degree of duplicity in the lower orders, but in the experienced necessity of varnishing their tale of misery, to attract the notice of the benevolent. When multitudes are simultaneously involved in distress, the constant repetition of the same melancholy story renders the humane to a certain degree callous to its influence. To attract attention, the poor find it necessary to heighten the picture of real suffering by fictitious additions. A family are reduced to the brink of ruin by the protracted illness of the father. The statement

of the real fact would excite but little attention, and it is, therefore, added, that two children have just died of a contagious disorder, and two more are on the point of perishing from the same complaint. Relief is in the first instance afforded by some humane individual, and inquiry is made into the case, and it turns out that the greater part of the story is a total fabrication, It is immediately concluded that the supplicants are wholly unworthy of relief, and the inference is frequently added, that *all* the poor are impostors, because *one* has been detected in exaggeration; forgetting that there is in general enough of misery even in those who are accessary to imposition, to attract the pity of the humane, and that the fault which is thought to deprive them of all claim to relief, arises from the excess of suffering in the class from which it arose.

The necessary effect, however, of this tendency in the lower orders, where distress is general, is to bring forward the querulous and importunate, while the modest and retiring languish and perish in unknown obscurity. There is no person, practically acquainted with the condition of the poor, who must not be aware that this evil, in the absence of legal relief, exists to a most dreadful extent in all great cities. The researches of the benevolent unfold scenes of misery more terrible than the imagination even of Dante could have figured. All the heart-rending scenes which fancy can pourtray fade before the occurrences of real life. The investigations of the Committee of the House of Commons into the misery of Ireland during the famine of 1823-4, and of Scotland during the commercial depression of 1826, and of Ireland in 1837 and 1838, brought to light scenes of agony, infinitely exceeding what the most fervid imagination

could have conceived.* This misery remained unnoticed and unknown; it never protruded itself upon the humane; and was discovered only by the domiciliary visits, which the distress of more importunate suffering occasioned, from unwearied philanthropy.

In truth, there is a certain degree of human suffering, which disables men even from the exertion requisite to ask charity. The continued pressure of want and disease; the desperate spectacle of universal destitution around them; the gradual loss of every article of furniture, clothing, and bedding, to satisfy the demands of the pawnbroker; the total absence of all hope, either from the revival of industry, or the sympathy of the higher orders, at length produces such a degree of mental depression, as unfits men for the smallest effort. The visits of the benevolent, when the public distress has reached its crisis, discover families without either furniture or clothing, submitting in silence to the pangs of hunger; and calmly awaiting their own deaths, as the only release from a life of suffering. Their state of mind resembles that of the condemned malefactor, who, when hope is extinguished, beholds with indifference the approach of that dissolution, which, while it remained, was so much the object of apprehension.

Misery of this unknown and exterminating kind cannot exist in a state where legal relief is established. It arises in a peculiar manner from voluntary charity being the only means of support to the distressed; and is the fate which too often awaits the high-minded and the virtuous, while importunate clamour absorbs the whole funds of the benevolent. It is the peculiar blessing of a system of legal support, that it tends to

* Parl. Rep. 1823, 1826, and 1838 on Irish Poor.

equalize the relief of suffering, as well as the burden of assuaging it; to open a source of charity, which the independent may approach without degradation, and the retiring without apprehension; and to deprive artifice of its advantages in the contest with the upright, by providing assistance which misery may obtain without falsehood, and diffidence without humiliation.

3. It results from these considerations, that another important consequence of a legal provision for the poor is to be found, in its tendency to prevent them from sinking into that state of utter wretchedness which leads to immediate crime and ultimate dissolution of manners.

Public suffering is the prolific source both of depravity in individuals, and of the continuance of the misery from which it arose in society. There is a certain degree of depression in circumstances—a certain proximity to vice,—a certain acquaintance with suffering,—which totally destroys both the virtue and the habits of the lower orders. The horror at crime is gradually weakened, and at last destroyed by familiarity with its features; the apprehension of distress is insensibly diminished by the constant spectacle of destitution; habits of present indulgence, and recklessness of the future, speedily engrafted upon a continued precarious state of existence. These changes, so fatal to the welfare of society, so ruinous to the people who undergo them, are universal upon the recurrence of severe and long-continued distress. They were speedily experienced during the course of the dreadful pestilence which ravaged Europe in the fourteenth century,* of which Boccaccio has left so graphic a pic-

* Sismondi, Hist. de France, x. 342.

ture ;* they may be witnessed in the unruly violence of the shipwrecked mariner, who bursts the bonds of discipline in the search for momentary enjoyment, or the licence of the veteran soldier, who snatches hours of wanton pleasure in the midst of alarms that threaten his existence. The effects of this tendency of unmitigated distress upon the principle of population, will hereafter be considered ; but its consequences upon the immediate welfare of the persons subjected to its influence are in the highest degree worthy of attention.

It is this vicious circle of misery, depravity, and renewed misery, which a legal provision for the poor steps in to arrest. By preventing the destitute from sinking into absolute want, it averts the greatest demoralizers, the worst enemies of humanity. Temporary distress is prevented from degenerating into habitual suffering ; casual misfortune into hopeless destitution ; recklessness is averted by the revival of hope ; vice is counteracted by the prospect of reward for virtue. The most powerful causes of depravity among the poor are disarmed by relieving the greatest calamities to which they are exposed.

Every person must have observed these causes operating on a small scale within the little circle of his own acquaintance. The common observation, that "a stitch in time saves nine," is nowhere more strongly exemplified than in the effects of the timely relief of distress. How often does it happen, that a small sum, judiciously and kindly bestowed, averts a whole catalogue of disasters ! how many families now flourishing and happy, date the revival of fortune and the renewal of hope, from the blessed hand of charity,

* Boccaccio, Decamerone, Introduction, p. 13, 14.

perhaps casually bestowed! By preventing the poor from sinking into the extremity of distress, we both preserve them from the contagion of sin in situations where it can hardly be withstood, and from the grasp of destruction in circumstances where it is irresistible.

A legal assessment for the poor, therefore, is of inestimable importance, by providing a secure refuge against the effects of temporary misfortune, and preventing the lower orders from being permanently demoralized, and their habits irretrievably degraded by the casualties to which, in an advanced stage of society, they are necessarily exposed. These important effects can never be attained by voluntary charity, because it never can reach those masses of distress which follow the growth of opulence, and the accumulation of the poor from its expenditure.

4. Uncertainty of subsistence is one of the greatest evils to which the poor in periods of high civilisation are exposed. Where employment is precarious, habits speedily become deranged, and improvidence general; the human mind cannot resist the seductions of the moment, when the future is involved in evident uncertainty.

Voluntary charity, in an opulent state of society, is liable in a most distressing degree to this uncertainty. This necessarily arises from the character of the persons from whom it is obtained. A certain amount of relief may indeed be relied on from the bounty of the benevolent; but extraordinary supplies can never be obtained but by some catastrophe which affects the imaginations of the people. If a great conflagration has exhibited terrific scenes of devastation, or a famine has spread through a whole province, large sums may be obtained, while the temporary ex-

citation continues; but when it subsides, interest and selfishness resume their sway, and the impossibility of relieving lasting distress from this source is speedily again experienced. This uncertainty is in the highest degree prejudicial to the people; it necessarily engenders reckless habits, and naturally leads to a diseased increase of population.

The truth of this observation must be familiar to every person who is practically acquainted with the distresses of the poor. If a family is reduced to want by any of the casualties of life, the mere acquisition of a few shillings or guineas will seldom afford permanent relief; they may be an invaluable addition to other sources of support, but they cannot be relied on as themselves sufficient. Charity bestowed in regular pensions upon the destitute is incomparably more beneficial than the same sum, gifted in larger but irregular donations. Where considerable sums are obtained at times, and severe privations experienced at others, it is in vain to expect settled habits.

This is the greatest evil to which voluntary charity, when considered as the *sole* resource of the poor, is subject; and it is precisely the evil which a legal provision is calculated to obviate. The poor who are succoured from the public funds, receive less at times than those who depend on individuals,—but they receive it more regularly; they have nothing to spend on intoxication at one period,—but they are not exposed to the pangs of hunger at another. This is a most important circumstance, and of itself sufficient to those acquainted with the habits of the poor, to demonstrate the superiority of legal to casual charity. The funds of benevolence may be frequently wasted, when irregularly obtained; but when looked upon as a permanent

provision during the continuance of distress, they are less likely to be dissipated. A soldier leads a comfortable life upon a shilling a-day, regularly paid at the close of the week during the period of his service, but he is frequently ruined by the Chelsea pension awarded at its termination. The latter, like the prize-money due to sailors, is paid in large sums at stated periods by the Government offices; a week of uninterrupted intoxication generally follows the day of payment, and months of squalid inactivity follow a few days of licentious enjoyment.

Where the poor are to be found in great numbers, therefore, legal assessment is the only means which are to be permanently relied on, because it alone is independent of the passions and fleeting emotions of the people. If any person doubts the truth of this, let him commence a public work by the aid of a subscription, and contrast its progress with that of one raised by assessment. The moment that the principle is admitted, that regularity in the administration of relief is material, the expedience of legal succour becomes apparent.

Voluntary charity is an invaluable *auxiliary* to legal support, but it is a most inefficient *substitute* for it. In periods of extraordinary distress it affords the expansion required to meet the increasing wants of the unfortunate; at all times it will find ample room whereon to shed its blessings; but it is not to be relied on for the steady relief of those unattractive misfortunes which arise out of the ordinary casualties of human existence. In moments of public enthusiasm essential aid may be rendered to the forces of the state by voluntary armaments; but no prudent government,

in reliance on such irregular assistance, would dispense with the protection of a regular army.

5. Another important effect of a system of legal relief is, that it provides a fund for the maintenance of the poor, which is capable of being enlarged or contracted according to the necessities of the people; whereas voluntary charity at times provides too little, and at others too much for their relief.

When a tax is annually raised for the maintenance of the poor, it is obvious that the persons who pay it have the strongest interest to resist its increase or effect its diminution; and, therefore, the best security which the circumstances will allow exists for the frugal management of the public funds. Accordingly, notwithstanding the glaring defects of the English Poor Laws, they have considerably diminished with the increasing prosperity of the country, after the convulsion consequent on the first termination of the war had subsided, notwithstanding the vast simultaneous increase of its population. In the year 1818, they amounted to L. 7,870,000; in the year 1834, only to L. 6,317,000.* This power of expansion or contrac-

* Table showing the progress of the English poor rates from 1814 to 1834, when the new system was introduced.

Years.	Sums.	Population.
1814,	L.6,294,581 0 0	10,775,000
1815,	5,418,846 0 0	10,979,437
1816,	5,724,839 0 0	11,160,557
1817,	6,910,925 0 0	11,349,750
1818,	7,870,801 0 0	11,524,389
1819,	7,516,704 0 0	11,700,965
1820,	7,330,256 0 0	11,893,155
1821,	6,959,249 0 0	11,978,875
1822,	6,358,702 0 0	12,313,810
1823,	5,772,958 0 0	12,508,956
1824,	5,736,989 0 0	12,689,098
1825,	5,786,989 0 0	12,881,906
1826,	5,928,501 0 0	13,056,931

tion, according to circumstances, is a very great advantage in any system of public charity. It is a dreadful evil if suffering remains unrelieved during the severest crisis of general distress; and the habits of the people are permanently ruined by misfortunes which might have been alleviated. It is also an evil of no small magnitude, if large funds devoted to charity remain in the course of division after the necessity for their distribution has ceased; and the idle and worthless reap the fruits which should have been reserved for unfortunate industry. To both these evils a system of voluntary relief is exposed; from both a legal provision is exempted.

When a country has arrived at that stage of political advancement when legal relief is required, and none such exists, one of two things must happen:—either the misery of the people will drive the higher ranks abroad, and they will seek to forget the suffering which they cannot relieve in the amusements of a foreign metropolis; or the sight of distress will operate so powerfully upon the humane, as to occasion the appropriation of vast sums to the purposes of pub-

Years.	Sums.	Population.
1827,	L.6,441,088 0 0	13,242,019
1828,	6,298,000 0 0	13,441,913
1829,	6,332,410 0 0	13,620,701
1830,	6,829,042 0 0	13,811,467
1831,	6,798,888 0 0	13,897,187
1832,	7,036,968 0 0	14,105,645
1833,	6,790,799 0 0	14,307,229
1834,	6,317,225 0 0	14,531,957

The annual sum paid by each inhabitant of England and Wales,

In 1801, was overhead L.0 9 1

1831, - 0 9 9

although population in the same period has advanced about 70 *per cent.*; a clear proof that the *proportion* of poor requiring legal relief had prodigiously diminished in that period, though it was one when the causes of pauperism had been in fearful activity.—Porter's Prog. of Nation, i. 82.

lic charity. Of the former effect Ireland is a living and appalling example,—of the latter Spain and Italy furnish memorable instances. In Ireland, where poor's rates are unknown, misery has overflowed the land, —industry is unknown in a large proportion of the people,—and the rich, unable to endure the spectacle of universal distress, have migrated in a body for their residence to more prosperous states. In Italy and Spain the piety of former ages has endowed vast institutions with landed revenues; their hospitals are on the greatest scale, and amply filled with inmates; and the gates of the monasteries where charity is bestowed upon the poor are always surrounded by a crowd of clamorous supplicants. There is something so heart-rending in the sight of continued suffering, that it insensibly melts the most obdurate hearts; and amongst the crowd who witness it some are at last found who yield to the dictates of humanity, and destine their wealth to its relief in future times.

It is an evil of the very first magnitude to leave a country deserted by the landed proprietors, and overspread with a multitude of paupers, without employment, ignorant of comfort, and impatient of suffering. Such a state of things is the natural result of the want of such establishments as, by relieving the misery of the poor, prevent the degradation of their *habits*, and check the growth of a destitute population, by succouring those from whom it would spring. It is also a serious inconvenience to have large revenues set apart for the use of the poor at all times, whether they require relief, or might maintain themselves in comfortable circumstances. Such institutions are a direct bounty upon idleness in periods of prosperity, because they provide for those who do not require it:

and they fail in affording the requisite relief in periods of adversity, because they do not admit of that sudden expansion which the vicissitudes of society require.

It is the peculiar advantage, on the other hand, of a system of legal provision, that it readily adapts itself to the varying circumstances of the poor, and relieves the utmost measure of suffering at one period, without occasioning an unnecessary expenditure at another. Drawn from the ample funds of the affluent, it is not likely to fail in periods of distress; raised by assessment upon their properties, it never will be continued when the necessity for its support has passed away. In periods of adversity it relieves real suffering; in periods of prosperity it does not encourage inaction. It accomplishes all the objects of charity, without being open to the objections which occur to a system of relief founded chiefly on the bequests of private individuals.

III.—The most important effect of the poor laws, however, is to be found in their influence upon the *principle of population*, and their tendency, by relieving extreme distress, to prevent the growth of those habits from which a redundant population takes its rise. As this is the most important consequence of their establishment, so it is the one concerning which the greatest mistakes have been generally received.

If it were true, that, by providing an asylum for the poor in sickness, distress, or old age, an uncalled for impulse is given to the principle of population, it would unquestionably follow, that such establishments are productive of more misery than they relieve. It deserves the most serious consideration, therefore,

whether these consequences really flow from them; and whether it is the duty of the legislator to remain deaf to the calls of humanity, lest, from mistaken lenity, he defeats the object which he has in view.

It will be found upon examination, that these consequences are deduced from an erroneous view of the causes which restrain the increase of the lower orders; that they are not only incorrect, but diametrically the reverse of the truth; and that there are no measures so effectual in checking the growth of a redundant population, as those which relieve the present distress of the poor.

If the higher orders were furnished with an asylum in sickness and old age, and a provision secured for their destitute offspring, adequate to their maintenance in the habits to which they have been accustomed, it is quite certain, that an extraordinary and uncalled for impulse would be given to their increase. The reason is, that these classes being already endowed with habits of foresight, whatever promises a provision for a family. removes the chief difficulty in the way of the marriage union. If the lower orders were all possessed of the property, and governed by the habits of their superiors, the same truth would be universally applicable. It is because they are not so that the effects of such a measure are the reverse; the same necessity which calls for the interposition of legal relief, changes its effect upon the principle of population.

Among the labouring classes generally, and the destitute portion of them in particular, inability to rear a family may check the growth of mankind, *but it never will alone prevent the contracting of marriage.* To

all who are practically acquainted with the condition of the poor this truth must be matter of observation: to all who are familiar with the varied appearances of the species it is matter of history. Nor is it difficult to assign the reason for this peculiarity. The passions of our nature are universal and inherent; the controlling principles partial and acquired; the former act most powerfully where the latter are unknown. The limitations to population acquire, in the progress of society, an entire ascendency over the physical propensities; but these limitations are slow of growth, and uniformly prevail most strongly in those classes whose condition is the farthest removed from real suffering. They are to be found in the highest degree among the aristocracy of England, to whom indigence is unknown: they will be looked for in vain among the peasantry of Ireland, who are continually in danger of wanting the necessaries of life.

Examine the different nations in the world, or the different classes of society in every country. Universally it will be found, that extreme poverty is accompanied by general improvidence; and that in the wreck of all the other hopes or enjoyments of life, the influence of physical desires becomes irresistible. A certain degree of indigence, a certain familiarity with suffering, will extinguish the principle of foresight even in the most cautious bosoms. Overturn the fabric of society; expose the aristocracy to the wants, the privations, and the miseries of the lowest class, and they will speedily acquire their habits; recklessness will succeed to caution; indolence to activity; the passion for present indulgence to the foresight of future advantage. The power of controlling present desire speedily ceases, when the objects to be gained

by such sacrifices have disappeared: there is but one way to make men look forward to the future, and that is to give them some inducement to abandon present gratification.

It results from these considerations, that nothing encourages a redundant and miserable population so powerfully as the *existence of unrelieved suffering*; because it spreads those habits among the poor from which a diseased action of the principle of population takes its rise. The inability to rear their offspring may prevent the number of the poor from becoming great when compared with the means of subsistence which their country affords; but while misery is generally prevalent they will always be redundant when compared with the share of that subsistence which they can command. A state capable of maintaining ten millions of inhabitants, may be over-peopled when it has only one:—all classes may be in comfort when it supports nine.

On the other hand, nothing tends *to check* an undue increase of mankind so effectually, as those institutions which, by relieving distress, dry up the sources from which an indigent population invariably springs. This is the great and important effect of such establishments. Every individual who is withdrawn from a state of extreme indigence is prevented from contributing his share to the diffusion of the habits from which a redundant increase of mankind arises. Suffering among the poor, like contagious fevers, never remains stationary: if it is not checked it spreads its ravages: if the rich will not relieve its distresses they will speedily be made to feel its bitterness.

If it were possible to diffuse property and industry universally among the poor, and spread the habits

requisite to preserve them, the danger of an undue increase would be entirely obviated. The augmentation of the poor, like that of the rich, would be governed by reason and prudence, and all classes would advance according to the means of comfortable subsistence which they could command. The inequality in the condition of mankind; the varieties of human character; the disasters incident to a highly civilized condition of society, forbid the hope that such a state of things can ever be realized. Every approximation to it, however, that can be effected, advances mankind a step nearer to that state of ideal perfection; every unit of suffering which is relieved, adds to the sum of provident habits, and subtracts from the spread of reckless indulgence.

There is no such error as to imagine that, by providing an asylum for the poor, we give an impulse to population, which otherwise would not have existed. Such an opinion results from supposing that the destitute portion of mankind are governed by the same views in contracting marriages as the opulent; a supposition contradicted by everything we know of human nature. The supporters of this opinion forget, that animal passion precedes, both in the individual and the species, the desire of gain; that its influence is greatest where the other enjoyments of life are the least; and that to leave the poor in unaided misery, is to consign them to circumstances where experience proves that no restraints upon the principle of increase are to be found. It is by relieving suffering wherever it exists; by preventing the poor from sinking to that extreme depression where hope is extinguished; by diminishing the frequency of perfect destitution, and

thereby augmenting the dread of incurring it; that the most effectual barrier against an undue increase of mankind is to be provided; because it is in that way that the habits are arrested which precipitate the poor into sensual indulgence, and level their multiplication to that of the lower animals.

Among the rich, the dread of falling in society is the great restraint upon population: among the poor the hope of rising. The former have everything to lose by an imprudent marriage—the latter nothing. The dangers of poverty have no terrors to those among whom they are habitual: to the poor they appear nothing worse than the risk of disease, or the certainty of death to the whole of mankind. The human mind invariably becomes habituated to what is continually present to its observation: the greatest dangers are never so completely overlooked, as by those who are nearest falling into them. The soldier sports with death, who possibly has not an hour to live: the rich man trembles at its approach while yet a thousand miles off.

It is frequently said, that, by exhibiting examples to the poor of the ruinous consequences of imprudent marriages, we will prevent their recurrence. There never was a more mistaken idea. The effect is just the reverse. By multiplying examples of indigence among the lower classes, we diminish the dread of incurring it; because we familiarize the poor to its observation. They cease to regard what surrounds them in every direction, as either extraordinary or humiliating, and come at last to look upon suffering as the unavoidable lot of humanity, and momentary gratification as its only enjoyment. The prevalence of

such ideas opens the door to every species of demoralization: general intoxication, sexual licentiousness, universal recklessness, speedily follow in the train of such misfortunes. There is but one way to arrest these evils, and that is, to relieve the distress which reduces the poor into those circumstances, where they become unavoidable.

Compare the habits, as to early and imprudent marriages of the lower Irish, who have the spectacle of misery constantly before their eyes, with that of the higher and middling ranks in this country, who know of such evils only from occasional observation, and the truth of this observation will be at once apparent.

Among ten thousand persons in a complicated state of society, one thousand are brought, by the vicissitudes of commerce, or the dissolution of manners, or casual misfortunes, into necessitous circumstances. If nothing is done to relieve them, experience has told too surely what will follow: the young will fall into dissolute habits, and become in early youth the parents of an indigent and depraved population; the aged into a life of mendicity, and corrupt the young if they cannot produce them. The streets will be covered with the offspring of persons once comparatively virtuous, now reduced by suffering to the lowest condition, and the most profligate habits; and from them, as so many centres, will the fatal contagion of vice and improvidence spread in every direction. Every great city in the empire affords ample evidence of the truth of this observation.

If these thousand individuals, on the other hand, are succoured by the powerful aid of legal relief, the incipient evil is arrested in its cradle. Indigence, often

the parent of demoralization, is averted; temporary misfortunes are prevented from producing confirmed habits; casual disasters from permanently destroying the limitations to population. The young are saved from the abyss of infamy and wretchedness into which they were on the point of falling: the old from the irregular habits which spread their vices through an extended circle. A prolific source of vice and mendicity is dried up, by relieving the distress in which they were both commencing; an unnecessary addition to the indigent part of the community prevented from arising, by saving numbers from falling into the reckless habits which would speedily have produced them; a perennial fountain of redundant population is closed, by arresting total destitution among the classes from which it usually springs. Nothing is of more importance than to prevent the standard of comfort among the labouring classes from falling: nothing of more benefit than, as much as possible, to prevent the poor from ever having the spectacle of unassuaged distress exhibited to their sight.

Examine the countries where legal relief is unknown. Are the poor there distinguished by their provident and economical habits? Is misery comparatively rare, and the increase of population generally regulated by the welfare of the people? Are China, or Hindostan, Persia, or Egypt, or Naples, as remarkable for the prevalence of moral restraint, as they are for the absence of legal provision for the poor? The fact is undeniably the reverse. Among the unrelieved mendicants of these populous countries, the utmost recklessness, the greatest pressure of a redundant population is expe-

rienced.* Examine the institutions, on the other hand, of Flanders, Switzerland, Austria, Holland, Prussia, and Norway, where comfort and industry are so generally diffused, and the principle of population is comparatively under due regulation; and in all, a legal provision for the poor will be found established.

Nay, without leaving the British islands, the strongest proof of the same principles may be discovered. For above two centuries and a-half, a system of legal relief has been established, and acted upon throughout the whole of England: and in the last half century, it has gradually extended through all the great cities of Scotland. Are the poor of Great Britain in consequence redundant in numbers, reckless in habits, improvident in conduct? So far from this being the case, the comfort and opulence of the middling and lower orders, at least in England, exceed that of any country in the world. The principle of population is more limited in proportion to the demand for labour, than in any other state where an equally complicated condition of society exists; and fewer mendicants are to be seen than in any nation of Europe. The Parliamentary Committee, after the fullest investigation into the state of the poor, even during a period of extraordinary commercial distress, have reported, that the *native* poor of the island have no tendency to increase beyond the means of their comfortable subsistence. †

And whence is it that the crowds of unemployed poor have been generated, who now overwhelm the British empire? Is it in the workhouses of England, or among the numbers whom her vast parochial as-

* See ante, Ch. VII.; ante I. 371, et seq.

† Parl. Rep. 1827, on Emigration.

sessments have called into being when the state of society did not require their production? It is, on the contrary, among the morasses of Ireland, among those whom want and misery has driven from their homes, and who now seek, from the wealth and the charity of Britain, that succour which is denied them by the institutions of their native land. It is amidst the indigence and misery of her *unrelieved poor*, that the principle of population has displayed its terrible powers; and from the squalid habits of her reckless inhabitants that the multitudes have issued, who now fill every part of the empire with distress. A more extraordinary, a more memorable example of the consequence of neglecting the poor never has been exhibited in the civilized world. The system of repressing the numbers of the poor by depriving them of relief, has there been tried to its *fullest extent*; for centuries, misery and want have stalked through the land; and the redundancy of the people, as well as the density of the population, are in consequence now greater than in any country of the world.*

Moreover, it is well worthy of observation, that, prior to the introduction of poor laws into Great Britain, the evils of itinerant mendicity were felt just as strongly as they now are in the sister island. The Scottish Statute Book contains no less than nine different statutes for the relief of the poor, and the suppression of begging,† and we know, from the best authority, that, at the Union, *two hundred thousand* sturdy beggars were to be found in the Lowlands of Scotland

* Humboldt's Voyages, Vol. xi. p. 238.

† All subsequent to 1579.

alone.* The preamble of the English statute truly declares, that the country was distressed by the numbers of unemployed poor, whom it was absolutely necessary to provide for by assessment on the parishes; and the contemporary writers have left the most lamentable accounts of the extent to which vagrant mendicity prevailed even in the richest English counties.† If these accounts are compared with the flourishing condition of the English poor at this time, where the paupers live better than the industrious labourers of the continental states,‡ they furnish the most conclusive authority in favour of the expediency of legal establishments for the relief of the indigent, and the salutary effect which they have in elevating the standard of comfort, and checking the habits which lead to a redundant population.

The force of this example becomes still stronger if it is considered that the English poor laws labour under several signal defects, which must have gone far to counteract their beneficial consequences. In particular, the practice of making up the wages of able-bodied labourers to a certain amount from the parish funds, and the extreme injustice of laying upon the landed proprietors almost the whole burden of maintaining the poor, whom the manufacturers have created to their own great profit, have gone far both to encourage idleness among the labouring classes, and to derange the relation between the demand for labour and the rate of wages. It is the most striking proof of the inherent blessings of a system of legal relief,

* Fletcher of Saltoun's Speech on Union.

† Account of Gloucester and Hereford, pp. 74–103.

‡ Jacob's Report, p. 27.

that, under so many disadvantages, it has produced such beneficial effects.

Ireland, however, not only has afforded the most signal proof down to this time of the pernicious effect of the want of all legal relief for the poor, and in particular of the immediate tendency of such a state of things to induce a diseased and unlimited action in the principle of increase; but its dreadful example has come to operate so forcibly upon the public mind, that, in spite of the combined efforts of the English economists standing up for their principles, the Irish demagogues, striving to perpetuate misery, the parent of agitation, and the Irish landlords seeking to avert a heavy burden from their properties, the great measure of justice has at length been carried, and the principle been sanctioned by the Legislature, that the Irish as well as the English poor are entitled to legal relief when in a state of destitution. Whether the peculiar system of relief there recently established is or is not the best that could be devised; in particular, whether the combination of public works at a reduced rate of wages for the unemployed, with *domiciliary* relief for the aged and impotent, would not have been preferable to the formation of great unions, where alone relief was to be administered, may well be doubted. But these are matters of detail which, although of the highest practical importance, are susceptible of a remedy according to the dictates of experience; the mighty triumph of truth over error, of charity over selfishness, has been achieved; and the most formidable combination of the active and speculative, the selfish and deluded parts of mankind ever before witnessed in any country, overthrown by the simple

weight of poignant misery upon the heart of a Christian Legislature.

The evidence which the Irish Poor Law Commissioners, many of whom were from previous opinions opposed on principle to any legal relief for the poor whatever, have collected on the state of the destitution in Ireland, is perhaps the most valuable commentary on the great Christian injunction of charity that exists in the world; and cannot fail, if attentively considered, to bring conviction to the coldest heart, and the most obdurate understanding, as to the paramount necessity, in every advanced state of society, of resorting to a legal relief for the poor, and the manifest experience of such a course, with a view to stop the diseased action of the principle of increase, which invariably springs from the long continuance of unrelieved misery among the humbler classes of the community. "The late inquiry in Ireland," says Mr Revans, the secretary to the commission, "have shown us the evils which the poor laws in England have remedied, compared with which those of their mal-administration sink into insignificance." * And Mr Molt, one of the assistant commissioners, observes, "No person can read the heart-rending account of the distress of the labouring poor in Ireland, without being a convert to the necessity of some compulsory provision being made for the destitute poor." † The evidence collected from all quarters abundantly demonstrates, that the poorer and more destitute the people are, the earlier do they marry; while the only traces of prudential conduct are among those who have been habituated to comparative comfort.‡ And of the ef-

* Revans, 122, Report on Irish Poor. † Report 1836, p. 338.

‡ First Report, 35.

fect of such habits prevailing generally among the working classes, we have an awful proof in the fact established by the Report, that there are above *two millions* of persons in Ireland who, more or less, stand in need of legal relief.*

Scotland was long and triumphantly appealed to by the opponents of parochial relief, as affording an example of a country where, although poor's rates, founded on the same principles as the 43d of Elizabeth, had by law been long established, yet in their practical administration very little had been done for the poor; and where the benefit of such abstinence from legal charity had been thought to be strongly exemplified. But that example has now completely broken down; and it has been demonstrated, not merely by the opinions of the most competent observers, but facts which are at once decisive of the case, that the evils in many parts of Scotland, from the want of *adequate* relief to the poor, have become excessive; that they have generated their usual offspring, typhus fever, and a diseased action of the principle of increase among the destitute classes; and that Scotland, amidst all its self-complacency as to the state of its peasantry, is fast sinking to a level with Ireland, both in the misery of the poor, and the consequent unexampled rapidity of the progress of crime. The admirable Vital Statistics of Glasgow by Dr Cowan ;† and the still more powerful and elaborate Treatise on the Management of the Poor in Scotland by Dr Alison,‡ have completely establish-

* Report 1836.

† Vital Statistics of Glasgow, by Henry Cowan, M.D., 1838.

‡ On the Management of the Poor in Scotland, by Dr Alison. Edinburgh, 1839.

ed, not only that there exists among the poor of those cities a degree of misery and destitution, certainly unexampled in Britain, probably not exceeded in Europe, if Ireland be excepted, but that this destitution is the result of these cities being crowded with the poor from all quarters, in consequence of the many parts of the country, where either no poor's rates at all are established, or they are administered with a most scandalous degree of parsimony. It has lately been established also, that in the West Highlands, where there is practically speaking no poor's rates whatever, and not a fifteenth of the gentry are resident, the destitution is *still greater;* and that above 200,000 persons there are constantly at the starving point, and, as a natural consequence, multiplying with a rapidity which equals even that of London, the centre of the whole wealth of the kingdom.* And of the dreadful danger of such a state of things, and the manner in which it speedily comes to affect the higher orders in their lives and property, if they cannot be reached through any other and more honourable channel, decisive proof is afforded by the facts that no less than *twenty thousand persons* were seized with typhus fever, the well known attendant on want and misery in Glasgow, in the single year 1837;† of whom 2180 died; that 40,000 persons have had fever in that city within the last three years; that 10,000 persons have had fever in Dundee in the last four years; that in 1838, 1 in 30 in Edinburgh was a fever patient;‡ while in Birmingham, with a popula-

* Baird and Fullerton's Account of the Poor in the Highlands and Islands, 57, 64. Dr Alison's Reply to Mr Monypenny, 19.

† Ante, II. 121, where the tables are given.

‡ Alison, 15, 2d edition. Cowan's Vital Statistics of Glasgow.

tion of 150,000, in the seven years ending 1839, the fever cases were only 69 a year; in Leeds, with a population of 123,000, only 274; in Manchester, with a population of 280,000, only 1391, even in the distress of 1837;* while in crime the difference between Scotland and England is still more unfavourable to this part of the island; for, while in seven years preceding 1839, the committals for serious offences in the former country had advanced from 2451 to 3446, or increased *a half*, they have only swelled in the latter from 20,829 to 23,094, or augmented about a tenth.†

The adversaries of the poor's rates will probably answer, that these results have taken place not in consequence of legal relief, but in spite of it; and, in proof of their argument, they refer to the facts, that one-twelfth of the people of England, in 1818, received parochial assistance, and that the total amount of the assessment was then from seven to eight millions annually.

In supporting a proper system of legal relief for the poor, it is by no means necessary to argue in favour of the extension of assistance to employed labourers. When this excrescence is removed, as it now is in England, by the operation of the new Poor Law Act, it must go far to diminish the number of paupers. In many parishes of the southern counties of that kingdom, the labourers whose wages were formerly made up from the parish, were above one-half of the whole number. No conclusive argument against a system can be drawn from so palpable an abuse of it. But

* Alison, 15, 2d edition. Cowan's Vital Statistics of Glasgow.

† Parliamentary Returns, 1832 and 1838, on Crime.

even supposing that the paupers of England truly amounted to a twelfth or even a sixth of the population, it would not afford the smallest argument against a legal provision: on the contrary, it afforded the clearest indication of its necessity. Such a state of things arises from the unequal division of property; from the multitude who live by wages compared to the few who possess capital; and while this inequality exists, all attempts to avoid assessment will be found to be impracticable, without an appalling and eventually destructive increase of misery. Had the English poor laws really possessed the injurious tendency which is generally ascribed to them, it must have happened that the labouring classes in that country would, long before this time, have been rendered redundant;—an injurious measure affecting directly so large a portion of the people, and indirectly extending over a much wider circle, must have induced habits of improvidence and reckless increase among the poor, during the long period that it has been in operation, if its tendency had really been what is generally believed. Experience proves that causes of much less general effect are amply sufficient to demoralize the lower orders, even in the most favourable political circumstances. The total absence of any such effect among the people of England, and the progressive growth of provident habits under the shelter of legal establishments for extreme distress, afford the most satisfactory reason for concluding, that the consequences supposed to flow from them are in reality unfounded.

That the habits of the English poor are, on the whole, hostile to a redundant increase of numbers, may

be inferred from the observations of Mr Malthus himself, that the agricultural labourers of England subsist, in general, on wheaten bread, and therefore are less numerous than they would have been if they had become habituated to inferior fare; a state of things decisive against the supposed tendency of the poor's rates to lower the habits of the poor. The same fact is demonstrated by the extraordinary multitudes of Irish, amounting to no less than *one million* in twenty years preceding 1821,* who daily flock into Britain, and contrive to realize a subsistence within it; a course of things which could not have taken place if the *natives* of the island had been pressing upon the limits of employment.

The principles which should regulate the distribution and providing of legal assessment are abundantly obvious. The strife of local and contending interests alone renders their application difficult in practice.

1. The fundamental principle of such relief being, that, in a complicated state of society, the poor are *unavoidably* driven to public support, it follows that it should be administered to *all* persons of whatever country, who are brought into the circumstances where it becomes requisite. To limit the assistance to such persons as have acquired claims by birth or residence, is not less impolitic than it is unfeeling. It would be highly inexpedient to refuse a stranger, affected with a contagious disorder, admittance into a public hospital, on the ground of his being an alien, and thereby spread the infection through a whole neighbourhood: it is not less so to allow the contagion of unrelieved

* Humboldt's Voyages, xi. 234.

distress to continue lurking among the poorer classes of the people.

2. In the distribution of legal aid, especial care should be taken to adapt it to the circumstances of the individual who requires it. To give the same species of relief to the young, the middle-aged, and the old, is in the highest degree absurd. It was the wise provision of the English statute, that *work* should be provided for the able-bodied, but unemployed poor; and had this part of the law been as zealously acted upon as that which provides payments to the infirm, its effects would have been more beneficial than they have actually been. There should always be some public works *in progress*, upon which persons thrown out of employment should be engaged, at a much lower rate of wages than what other workmen receive. This would exclude the danger of too many running to such employments: while at the same time it would be an incalculable relief to the poor under the vicissitudes of commercial enterprise. All able-bodied persons claiming relief should be immediately set to these works; and assistance without labour confined to those who are obviously incapable of undergoing it. In the distribution of relief, it is of essential importance that the principle of *locality*, or the division of the poorer quarters of every city into *districts*, in which a sufficient number of persons are to be appointed inspectors, should be adopted. Without it, the examination of individual cases, and the separation of distress from imposture are impossible: with it, there is no accumulation of distress which cannot be investigated. The system adopted in Scotland, of massing the poor in all the parishes in great cities together,

and referring all applications for relief to one office, is the worst, in this particular, that can possibly be imagined.

3. The application of a considerable portion of the funds of public charity to the purpose of providing the means of *emigration* to the young and the active of both sexes, would be a most important measure, both with reference to the comfort of the lower orders, and the regulation of their future increase. If it be true, that unrelieved distress becomes the fountain of a redundant population, and speedily generates a diseased action of the principle of increase, it follows, that the removal of that distress, and the settlement of the poor in more favourable situations, is the most effectual means of bettering the condition of the poor. When emigration is left to itself, it frequently withdraws the better classes, who have the capital and enterprise requisite to undertake it; leaving the indigent and reckless, from whom a redundant population is likely to spring, to vegetate in their native land. It is, therefore, of immense importance to turn into this channel the most destitute portion of the community, and to provide from the public funds, the means of their removal and settlement. By so doing we not only relieve the pressure upon the industrious and better classes who remain behind; but we get quit of the persons who are likely to derange the principle of population by the reckless habits which they have acquired.

The danger so often apprehended, that, by removing a portion of the people, we shall leave a void which will speedily be filled up, is entirely chimerical. *No danger need ever be apprehended from measures*

which better the condition of the poor; it is from their degradation and suffering that a redundance of numbers, from their comfort and prosperity, that a due regulation of population is to be expected. If indeed they were to retain the improvident habits after their condition was ameliorated which they did before that event, it may be conceded that the benefit of such removals would be but temporary. But nothing is more certain than that they would not do this. The same measures which bettered the condition of the people, by removing some of their indigent members, would develope the limitations to the principle of increase among the remainder, by extricating them from circumstances where recklessness is unavoidable, and placing them in situations where comfort can be felt.

4. Towards an equitable system of poor laws, it is indispensable that an equal *mode of assessment* should be adopted. The unequal distribution of the burden in England, where the assessments are raised by parishes, and manufacturers are only rated as the proprietors of large houses, is obvious. That the burden should be in some degree local is obvious, from the consideration, that the advantage which the higher orders derive from the great accumulation of the poor in particular places is in some degree local also. In the vicinity of a manufacturing town property of every kind is often raised to ten times its original value, by the very multiplication of workmen which renders public assessment unavoidable. It would be in the highest degree unjust to tax remote agricultural districts, which had a lesser share either in the production, or the advantages of such assemblages, at the same rate as those who had both. That the

assessment by parishes, however, is objectionable, is clear, from the circumstance, that excessive inequality in the burden is to be met with; and that a proprietor on one side of an imaginary line frequently pays ten times as much as his more fortunate neighbour. How the details should be adjusted is for the consideration of those who are familiar with them. The principle obviously is, that the burden of maintaining the poor should be laid as nearly as possible in proportion to the share which individuals have had in producing their accumulation; and the advantage which they have directly or indirectly derived from their labour.

But, on the other hand, and this point is deserving of the most serious consideration, nothing can be clearer, than that the effort which the landed proprietors, in situations where they are either not at all or only slightly burdened, uniformly make to throw the maintenance of the poor entirely as a burden upon those districts where they are actually situated in great numbers, is in the highest degree unjust, and such as should receive no countenance either from the Legislature or disinterested classes of the community. There is no part of the country which does not share, and largely share, in the advantages of the market for its produce, which has been opened by the consumption of the great commercial towns, and manufacturing districts of the country. Where would the agriculture of the British islands be, if the markets of London, Dublin, Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow, and Edinburgh, were withdrawn from their farmers? If the landholders consider themselves in remote situations noways benefited by the consumption of these towns and manufacturing

provinces, let them cease to oppose the abolition of the corn laws, and let the urban population of the empire be at once and avowedly fed by the produce of Poland and the Ukraine. But while they contend, and justly contend, that they are entitled to a protecting duty, in order to secure the benefit of the consumption of these great marts of the human race, for native agricultural industry, let them not endeavour to shake themselves loose of the concomitant burdens which necessarily follow the assemblage of such huge masses of mankind in particular districts; or throw upon the inhabitants of the places where they are collected, the whole weight of a dense population, in the benefits of whose industry they so largely partake.

Farther, there is another and an equally obvious injustice, arising from the limitation of a legal assessment, and the conferring of legal relief only in particular districts, that its immediate effect is to throw the poor from all parts of the country, where no aid is provided, in great and sometimes unbearable numbers, upon those where assistance, whether legal or voluntary, is provided. The poor are not slow in discovering the places where their misery is likely to meet with sympathy, or their destitution with relief; they willingly travel hundreds of miles to flock to the districts where such advantages are to be obtained. This evil has long been sorely felt in Scotland, where a large part of the parishes in the kingdom have established no assessment for the poor at all; and in almost all the remainder, the sum allowed to the destitute is so trifling, generally 1s. or 1s. 6d. a-week, as to be almost equal to nothing. The consequence is, that the poor from these unrelieved districts are necessarily

thrown as a burden on Edinburgh and Glasgow, where numerous charitable establishments exist; and the necessities of the poor on the one hand, joined to the humane feelings of the inhabitants on the other, have in these towns led to the establishment of a legal provision, though hitherto on a most inadequate scale. The landholders of Scotland, while they admit the paramount necessity for parochial assessment in these great towns, loudly protest that they are not called for in their rural districts; forgetting that two-thirds of the poor of these great cities are composed of the rural paupers who have been driven into the towns by the almost total want of relief, either legal or voluntary, in the country. The "ignorant impatience of taxation" is so strong a principle among all men, that it may be considered as hopeless to get the distant proprietors to acquiesce in any measure of general and graduated assessment, however loudly called for by every principle of justice, humanity, and ultimate expedience; but as this evil is one of general influence, and which constitutes a great part of the burden which falls so heavily on the public funds, voluntary charity of the towns, it behoves their inhabitants to set themselves seriously to obtain the redress of so great a grievance, if not from better motives, at least from a regard to their own patrimonial interests.

Moreover, in this important matter of the practical working out of a system of relief for the poor, it is of the very highest importance not to lose sight of the principle, that the persons who are to be finally entrusted with the right of determining to what parties relief from the public funds should be extended, and what amount of relief they should receive, should *not be the*

persons who are liable to the assessment, nor under their control; for if they are so, the universal impatience of mankind at taxation is such, that, even for the most necessary purposes, or the discharge of the most solemn duties, they will invariably resist the burden, or diminish the relief to a ruinously low pittance; and by their obstinacy in this particular, render abortive the wisest and most benevolent legislative provisions. When the principle is once understood which lies at the bottom of all sound legislation on this subject, that the claims of the poor for relief are not of the nature of a petition, to be admitted to the benefits of a voluntary donation, but a legal right, founded upon the claim which the destitute and impotent poor in a complicated state of civilized society everywhere have to a reasonable support from the more opulent and fortunate classes of society, who have been enriched or maintained by their labour,—it becomes sufficiently evident that the duty of determining between the applicants for this relief, and the persons who are entrusted with its distribution, must not be left to the final adjudication—the parties who are to be burdened with the assessment. To do this is nothing less than to entrust one party in a law-suit, with the exclusive right of judging of his opponent's case—a principle universally repudiated by the laws and practice of all civilized nations.

What should we say, if it were gravely proposed, that all claims upon a railway company, or road trustees, or any other public incorporation, were to be finally disposed of by a committee of the holders of the stock, or the persons liable to assessment under such bodies? Every man at all acquainted with human affairs may easily conceive what sort of justice

would be got, if parties, whose profits were to be diminished, or burdens increased, by the amount of the claims thus made upon them, were to be entrusted with the sole power of judging to what extent they were to be admitted. Experience has abundantly proved the extreme reluctance to submit to an assessment which distinguishes mankind in all circumstances; and in an especial manner, the extraordinary reluctance to impose such a burden, which characterizes the landed proprietors, especially of the middle or lower ranks, and in remote situations; and with this universal disposition, the great difficulty of getting the consent of any city or county to any considerable burden of assessment proposed to be imposed upon them, affords sufficient evidence. It may readily be conceived, therefore, what reluctance such bodies of men must always feel in augmenting a poor's rate; and how totally inadequate the orphans, aged, and destitute, who applied for such relief, must be, to maintain the contest with the wealthy bodies on whom the assessment is to be imposed. Such are the difficulties arising from these circumstances, that it may safely be affirmed, that the wisest and most benevolent system of legal relief that human wit could devise, would, in practice, be soon rendered almost nugatory, if the power of judging in the applications for a share of its benefits were wholly vested in the rate-payers, or any persons under their control.

Strong as these statements are, they will not, by any person practically acquainted with mankind, be deemed either unnecessary or exaggerated. And of the practical evil which may result from the admission of the opposite principle into the frame-work of the poor

laws, we have a signal example in the consequences which have resulted from it in the Scotch law. The old Scotch statutes, particularly the act 1759, chap. 43, contain as humane and wise provisions for the management and relief of the destitute as it was possible for human wisdom to devise; and the due execution of which is all that is necessary to put the condition of the Scottish poor on the very best possible footing, and render wholly unnecessary the introduction of either commissions or inquiries from our southern neighbours. The injunctions of the Scotch law as to the maintenance and support of the poor are almost exactly the same as the 43d of Elizabeth; and the administration of the parochial assessment is most properly entrusted, in the first instance, with the heritors and kirk-session of each parish. If their decision upon the claims for relief and the amount to be awarded had been subjected to a *cheap and expeditious mode of review*, the system would have worked with the most perfect justice and efficiency to the property of the heritors on the one side, and the claims of the destitute and unfortunate on the other. But unfortunately the Court of Session took up the idea, not so much from any express statutory injunction to guide them, as from erroneous considerations of expedience, and a belief of the necessity of keeping down the burdens of the poor's rates, that the heritors and kirk-sessions were intended by the law, in this matter, to form an independent judicatory, whose decisions were *reviewable only by the Court of Session*, the highest tribunal in the kingdom; and this legal principle has been established by several decisions. The effects of this system of allowing one party in a suit to judge without appeal to

what extent his opponent's claims are to be sustained, have been in the highest degree disastrous. The principle has been universally adopted and acted on by the kirk-sessions in almost every part of Scotland, that poor's rates are a most formidable burden, pernicious alike to the rich and poor, which it is the duty of all friends to their country, and of themselves, to reduce as much, and if they are forced on, to render as light, as possible. Without ascribing to the members of these kirk-sessions intentional inhumanity, and admitting that many of them, in every part of the country, are men of the highest worth and benevolence, sufficient evidence exists, from the general state of the poor in Scotland, to show, that the administration of the law has been entrusted, without the power of a practical review,* to a body who, however respectable as individuals, are not, in their collective capacity, capable of doing justice in the matter. The amount of aliment which is generally awarded even in great towns, such as Glasgow and Edinburgh, is a shilling a week, or about three halfpence a day,—a pittance upon which, in large towns, it is barely possible to support a suffering and lingering existence. This has been the practical result of allowing the heritors and

* It is hardly necessary to say, that a review, which can be got only in the Court of Session, where the lowest expense at which a process can be tried is from L. 50 to L. 100, practically amounts, in all cases of paupers, to an absolute prohibition; the more especially, as it is well known, that the Court would feel the utmost reluctance at interfering with the determination of the heritors and kirk-session, either as to the quantum of aliment to be allowed to the applicant, or the claims of any individual applicant for relief; and, therefore, that there is nothing to be made by agents of the speculation of a law-suit, which is the great means by which poverty, in the ordinary case, is able to contend with the advantages of wealth.

kirk-sessions the power of judging in their own case without review. What the aliment should be is decisively proved by what has been practically established by magistrates of burghs and the ordinary courts of law, as an allowance for prisoners and parties even in the humblest rank of life. It is L. 6 a year even for an infant child, and L. 10 or L. 12 for a grown person. Mr Maculloch correctly estimates the average cost of maintaining a human being at L.8 a year for food alone.* From the report of the intelligent Government Inspector of Prisons, Mr Hill, it appears that the average cost of maintaining prisoners in jail, where there is no provision for their working while in confinement, over all Scotland, is about L. 15 a year, and even under the most improved management, there is no prospect of reducing it below L. 12, unless the prisoner can work for himself; so that under the present system in Scotland the guilty criminal who is confined in jail receives, as a deserved punishment for serious crimes, about *six times as much*, at the public expense, for his maintenance, as the aged and impotent poor,—a great portion of whom have spent the best part of their life in honest industry, and been precipitated, by unavoidable misfortune, into a state of destitution. When the obvious inadequacy of the relief thus afforded in Scotland for the poor is considered, along with the vast numbers of persons, certainly not less than 250,000, between the country and the towns, who are retained year after year in this state of misery and destitution, it will not appear surprising to any reflecting person, that serious crime is increasing faster in Scotland than in any country in Europe; that within the last thirty years it has mul-

* Statistics of the British Empire, i. 472.

tiplied FORTY FOLD ;* or that the destitution and misery of the poorer classes, both in great towns and many remote districts of the country, has reached a pitch unparalleled, except in Ireland, in any other part of Europe ; and that, in one of its great towns, forty thousand persons have been seized with typhus fever in the last three years.

One simple and obvious remedy exists for these multiplied evils. All that is necessary is to give the ordinary local courts of law jurisdiction in questions between paupers, and the heritors and kirk-sessions having the administration of the poor funds, both as to the persons admissible on the poor's roll, and the amount of aliment to be awarded. In the Small Debt Courts of the Sheriffs or Justices of the Peace, cases of this sort might be decided in a week, and at a cost of a few shillings each. Such a change seems all that is necessary to put the present law on a most salutary footing, and arrest that formidable deluge of contagion and crime, which, if not checked, will soon render life and property as insecure in this country as they have long been in the neighbouring island.

The period which has elapsed since the establishment of the new poor law in England has been too short to enable a clear opinion to be formed on the merits or demerits of that great national alteration ; and unquestionably the present state of those two great indexes to the moral and physical condition of the people of a country—typhus fever and the pro-

* The commitments of persons for serious offences in Scotland were, in 1808, ... 89
in 1838, ... 3413
—Moreau's Statistique de la Grand Bretagne, i. ; and Parliamentary Report on Crime in Scotland for 1838, p. 105.

gress of crime, does not indicate that the condition of the poor in that country has been materially impaired by the recent change; for the Parliamentary returns show that crime in England for the last seven years has only increased about a tenth, while in Scotland, in the same period, it has advanced nearly a half: and typhus fever in the former, England, is comparatively unknown, while in Scotland it is constantly making the most formidable ravages. But, notwithstanding these favourable appearances, there are certain particulars in which the new poor law in England appears to be essentially defective; and fortunately a remedy can be applied to these evils without impairing the great practical benefits in other particulars which the new act has introduced.

1. The fundamental principle of the new English poor law, that relief is to be afforded to the poor only in public workhouses, seems not to be unreasonable, in reference to the young or middle-aged and unmarried of either sex; but when applied indiscriminately to all applicants, however frail and infirm, married or unmarried, it appears to be fraught with the most obvious injustice. Where persons have arrived at old age, and have been habituated for a long course of years to the attention of their wives or families, it is a great hardship, perhaps in some cases a cruelty, to place them in a situation where they are wholly separated from both, and subjected to a confinement, often in a state of debility or extreme old age, which has all the effect of a severe criminal punishment. Domiciliary relief appears to be the true system in such cases, and accordingly a combination of such relief, with support in workhouses, has long

been established in Paris, where the burden of destitution is extremely heavy from a want of poor's rates in a great part of the rural districts, and where the organization of all institutions of this description has been brought to the very highest state of human perfection.

2. The rule of separating wives from their husbands, which is universally acted upon in the English unions, is one, especially when applied to persons advanced in years, which must often be attended with very great hardship, and which, considering the great number of the poor who are reduced to destitution through no fault of their own, the law should never impose as the condition of receiving legal relief. Domiciliary support appears to be the true principle in all such cases. It may not perhaps be going too far to assert, that the feeling which must thus necessarily be excited in the public mind, will in course of time become such, that, unless the spirit of the people, and the charity of the poorer classes are completely destroyed in England, an alteration of the law in this particular will have become indispensable.

3. The principle of laying the maintenance of bastard children exclusively upon the mother, appears to be one of the most unjust and inexpedient that can possibly be imagined. It was intended, no doubt, to deter young women from bringing such a burden upon themselves and society, and founded upon the same principle which has so often been urged against legal relief or voluntary charity being afforded to public distress. Experience, however, has now abundantly proved that such views are entirely erroneous; and that the only effect of denying such relief to the

necessitious poor is to throw them into that state of desperation in which the animal passions invariably act with irresistible force upon mankind. In the particular case of illegitimate children, these important considerations acquire additional force from the circumstance, that the law as it at present stands throws the burden of an imprudent or criminal act in which two persons are concerned upon one only, and that, too, the one who is frequently least to blame; and that, by imposing such a burden upon destitute young women, which they hardly ever have the means of supporting, it gives a fatal impulse to that most atrocious of all crimes—the murder of their infant offspring by the mother who bore it.

Madame de Stael has said, that there are but two æras in human affairs,—that which preceded and that which followed the establishment of Christianity. The truth of the observation is nowhere more apparent than in its influence upon the condition of the poor. Domestic servitude, universal before its arrival, has disappeared under its influence: the most grievous distinction of social existence, that between the freeman and the slave, has been abolished: a new relation between the higher and lower orders for ever established.

In this altered state of human affairs, if the means of improvement afforded to the poor have been enlarged, the calamities to which they are exposed have been increased: if they have escaped the restrictions of slavery, they have incurred the destitution of freedom. The Divine Author of our religion, however, has not forgot the increased necessities arising from the emancipation of the poor—in the duties it enjoins

upon the affluent,—in the kindly relation it establishes between the different classes of society,—in the revelation of the equality of all men in the sight of Heaven, it has succoured the impending evils, and made the vicissitudes of life the means at once of awakening its virtues, and mitigating its distresses.

So uniformly and emphatically is the great duty of CHRISTIAN CHARITY impressed upon mankind in the New Testament, that our Saviour may be said to have come into the world chiefly to enforce its performance. For the neglect of this duty no excuses will be received; by its discharge the greatest sins may be forgiven. In the day of Judgment itself its violation will form the ground of the condemnation of the wicked. It is by its general performance that the succour of the poor in a complicated state of society is provided, and the discharge of individual obligation, the relief of individual suffering, made the means of permanently ameliorating the condition of the species.

The person who yields to the feelings of benevolence,—the Christian who obeys the precepts of his religion—intend only to succour a human being; no ultimate or remote consequences are either intended or perceived. These ultimate consequences, however, are yet more important than the immediate effects of beneficence. They reach far beyond the individual who receives it; they extend to generations yet unborn; they prevent the growth of misery, though only intended for its relief. In the high standard of comfort now apparent among the English people; in the neatness of her cottages,—the enjoyments of her labourers, —the affluence of her middling ranks, we discern the remote consequences of the charity of our forefathers;

the blessed effects of that Divine principle which has tinged even the laws with its spirit, and intended only to succour present misery, has formed permanent habits, and assuaged unborn misfortune.

There is no variance, therefore, between the precepts of philosophy and the injunctions of religion: we are not required to do violence to our feelings from the conclusions of our reason; the prevention of misery is not forwarded by denying it assistance. The instincts of the human heart are in perfect unison with the best interests of the species; the discharge of Christian duty the surest foundation of social happiness. In relieving distress we not only mitigate its bitterness, but diminish its frequency; in attending to the welfare of the present generation, we take the most effectual means of improving the habits of that which is to succeed it.

It is a noble and touching spectacle of human virtue to behold these principles regulating the conduct of the Legislature; to see the rich and the powerful voluntarily binding themselves for the relief of the destitute, and the duty of charity not only recommended to the individual, but declared obligatory on the public. It is a salutary principle to pervade a state, that the selfish shall not escape performance of their duties; nor poverty be permitted to perish, when wealth exists for its relief. Nor is the discharge of such social duties without its reward even in this world. We discern it in the improved habits of the poor, the steady spread of national wealth, the measured growth of population. Among the many claims which the British Legislature has to the gratitude and admiration of mankind, it will not in future ages be

deemed the least, that, amidst all the pressure of a protracted war, and an exhausted treasury, the funds of the poor were maintained inviolate; that, under the burden of an unexampled taxation, greater sums were annually raised for the destitute, that formed the revenue of mighty monarchies; than during periods of disaster, when the interests of all ranks were successively sacrificed, those of the poor were alone preserved unimpaired; and that, regardless alike of the clamour of the selfish, and the mistaken censure of the learned, Parliament steadily adhered to the Christian duty of succouring the unfortunate.

But if England has been worthily and richly rewarded in the glorious result of the late war, for the magnanimous support which, during all her difficulties, she has given to the poor of her own realm; a moral lesson, not less worthy of attention, may now be discerned in the political difficulties with which she is surrounded, from the ascendency of the Irish representatives in the British Parliament. No person who considers with a dispassionate eye the present condition of the British empire can doubt, that the wide-spread misery of Ireland, which has resulted from the continued destitution of its poor for 250 years, has been the real cause both of the continued adherence of a large portion of its inhabitants to the Romish faith, and of the universal and deep-rooted feeling of hostility with which they are animated, both towards the Protestant religion and the English government. The convulsion which has shaken the national establishments of Britain, and the dangers to which they are still exposed, may thus be distinctly traced to the long neglect, on the part of her govern-

ment towards the Irish poor, of the first and greatest of social and Christian duties, that of providing for the destitute, which she had so worthily discharged in her own island. This evident result, and the singular fact, that the mighty empire of Great Britain is now, from the state of parties, practically guided by the representatives of the very degraded and now infuriated class to whom the injustice was so long applied, is a memorable instance of that just retribution which a careful examination will almost everywhere bring to light in the moral world. It illustrates the vast agency of that powerful and ceaseless spring in human affairs which is to be found in the principle of increase, and of the tendency of the frightful vigour in its action, which always arises from misgovernment, to work out ultimately a remedy for the evils from which it sprung, and restore that happier state of things intended by Nature, where the due limitations to population are provided for in the extension of human happiness.

CHAPTER XIII.

ON CHURCH ESTABLISHMENTS AND THE VOLUNTARY SYSTEM.

ARGUMENT.

General acknowledgement of the necessity of some Religious Instruction for the People—Inadequacy of all attempts for their improvement, if not attended with this addition, as proved in the case of France—System of the Voluntaries on this head—Of the supporters of an Established Church—Argument in favour of the latter—It maintains the Church out of its own funds; and so burdens no one persuasion for the support of another—It is in a peculiar manner the Church of the Poor—Absurdity of throwing the Religious Instruction of the Poor as a Tax on their own Industry—It unites together all classes—Forms the true bond of National Strength—Prevents the divisions of Time mingling with the concerns of Eternity—Can alone maintain the independence and utility of the Clergy—Mr Burke's opinion on the subject—Experienced impossibility of supporting Religious Instruction of the People from their own Industry—As proved in the case of Glasgow—And with the Dissenters generally in Great Britain—In the colonies of Australia and Canada—Answer to Tocqueville's arguments on this subject.

EXPERIENCE has now demonstrated, that the mere attempt to communicate to the people moral and religious instruction, is in a great degree nugatory, at least in the humbler and more benighted classes of society, where the light of knowledge, and the improvements of disposition are in an especial manner required to counteract the many causes of evil with which they are surrounded; if efforts are not simultaneously made both by themselves and their superiors to better their condition, improve their habits, wean them from sensual and degrading enjoyments, and avert from them that hopeless destitution which in-

variably renders men insensible to all considerations but the cravings of animal instinct. The rich have already discovered in many places, and they will ere long learn in all, that an extensive system of beneficence on their part is the best preparation for spiritual improvement, in the objects of their beneficence; that it is utterly vain to expect mental cultivation in a starving population; that large pecuniary sacrifices from one class of society are requisite to prevent the other from falling into a state of hopeless destitution and pernicious corruption; and that, if the faith of the Gospel is the only real antidote to the multiplied temptations with which the poor, in a complicated and artificial state of society, are surrounded, its charityis not less indispensable to prepare the soil for its reception in the humbler, and nourish a right frame of mind in the superior classes of the state.

But while this is abundantly clear on the one hand, it is perhaps still more necessary to observe on the other, that mere improvement in physical comfort, or the spread of material enjoyments, will not of themselves either elevate the character, or purify the heart. They change the direction rather than eradicate the tendency to sin. The low sensuality, the coarse enjoyment, the total recklessness of destitute and miserable man, will probably be abandoned; but they will be so only to give place to a new set of desires, in the end not less fatal to human virtue, and not less destructive to human prosperity, than the worst excesses of brutalized passions. The Sybarite, the sensualist, the libertine, is perhaps more dangerous to the circle in which he moves than the drunkard or the ruffian. Vice may have lost half its deformity,

but it has lost none of its dangers, when it has thrown off all its grossness. It is polished and refined, not savage and brutal wickedness, which ever in the end proves fatal to the virtue, and ruinous to the fortunes of nations. Intellect and refinement never fail in the progress of society to assert their superiority over mere animal passion, or physical enjoyment; it is the mixture of sentiment with sin, of taste with passion, of imagination with sensuality, which has generally proved irresistible, and in every age been found to be the forerunner of national dissolution. In all the states of antiquity, accordingly, it was with the highest and most educated classes that corruption began; and from their corrupted imaginations and depraved ability, that the stream of pollution sprung forth, which overwhelmed and ruined society. And if we would see a living example of the extent to which the highest intellectual acquisitions, and the utmost refinement in taste and habit in a large portion of the people, can coexist with the most general moral corruption, and general neglect of religious duty, we have only to look at Paris, where, in the midst of a metropolis which, with reason, perhaps, boasted itself the head of European civilisation, crimes have been perpetrated during a course of years, which throw into the shade even the atrocities of savage man; where nine-tenths of the people now live without a thought even on spiritual concerns, or their immortal welfare; where the theatres teem with a mingled flood of taste and wickedness, of genius and depravity; and where the force of moral ties, being altogether broken, nothing keeps society in the last stage of its progress together, but the power of the sword.

The concurring experience of all nations, and of the wisest and best of men, from the rudest ages to the present times, has concurred in demonstrating, that it is in the spread of religious influence, and the sway of spiritual faith, that the only power capable of combating these evils is to be found. The reason is the same as that which has already been largely commented on, with reference to the improvement in the temporal habits and present comforts of men; viz. that unless some motive is presented to the mind adequate to combat the temptations and enjoyments of present existence, it will inevitably sink under their influence. It was not till Paul talked of judgment to come that Felix trembled. The prospect of futurity alone, and the emotions and feelings which it awakens in the soul, can counteract the extraordinary attractions of sin arising from the immediate gratifications and pleasures which it holds forth. The mind, indeed, is made for immortality as well as for this world; and when the idea of a future existence is once deeply rooted, it is capable of becoming, as every day's experience demonstrates, not merely a ruling principle of conduct, but an absorbing passion, often powerful enough to triumph over the strongest instincts and passions of present existence. But, generally speaking, and in the long-run, it is strongly developed in nations, and comes to be the regulating spring in individuals only by the influence of sedulous care and unremitting attention; and, if neglected, will infallibly be choked by the cares or the pleasures obvious to the senses, and connected with present existence. In moral not less than physical culture it will universally be found, that the spontaneous growth

is little more than weeds, and that it is by constant efforts alone that the noxious plants which choke the seed of life can be so far eradicated as to permit the harvest to be reaped:

> Vidi lecta diu, et multo spectata labore,
> Degenerare tamen: ni vis humana quotannis
> Maxima quæque manu legeret: sic omnia fatis
> In pejus ruere, ac retro sublapsa referri—
> Non aliter quamqui adverso vix flumine lembum,
> Remigiis subigit, si brachia forte remisit
> Atque illum in præceps, prono rapit fluvius amni.
>
> VIRG. *Georg.* i. 195.

But while all nations in every age have looked to religious precept and influence as the only counteracting influence adequate to withstand the temptations of this life, there is a wide difference in the system which various communities and classes of men have established or advocate for this purpose. And these classes are the supporters of an ESTABLISHED CHURCH, and the advocates of the VOLUNTARY SYSTEM.

What, say the latter, can be so unjust as to tax the members of one persuasion for the support of another? In every other department of instruction, whether secular or ecclesiastical, men are left free to choose the species of knowledge which they require; and the encouragement of the professor is left to the voluntary support which he receives from his pupils. Why should religious instruction be made an exception to the general rule? Why should the Catholic be compelled to contribute to the support of the Protestant, or the Methodist of the Episcopalian? It is temporal interest which lends bitterness to the divisions of theology; it is the payment of money which constitutes the injury which can never be forgiven. Every

man should pay for his own religious teacher, as every man pays for his own tailor, or apothecary, or baker. Competition, under this equitable and simple system, would here, as elsewhere, induce perfection; theological error would expire under the ascending light of truth and investigation. Fat deans, drowsy bishops, would no longer be able to wring the means of pampering their daily appetites out of the sufferings of the people. Relieved from the odium consequent on the present partial system, Christianity would regain its hold of the affections of mankind. It will never do so till its connection is severed with the State, and its professors are thrown back to the apostolical rule, which declared that its kingdom was not of this world.

The advocates of Church establishments argue after a different manner. Religion, they observe, is not a mere matter of convenience, luxury, or accommodation; it is the grand cement and bond of society; the link which unites together the various and otherwise discordant classes of the people; the soul, as it were, and spirit of the state. If this bond be awanting, the elements of which the community is composed will separate, and the nation fall to pieces, or be held together only by the power of the sword. Like the national defence by sea or land, therefore, the public police or the judicial establishments, it must be supported at the public expense, and form part of the national institutions *non tangenda non movenda*, which form the foundations and corner stones of society. To leave the people to that degree and kind of instruction in spiritual matters which they either can or will procure for themselves by voluntary contribu-

tion or subscription, is to leave them to the chill of penury or the delusions of error. Religious instruction, the denunciation of sin, the chastisement of wickedness, cannot be left to the voluntary efforts of individuals, any more than the construction of jails or the support of criminal law. The selfish or wicked, that is, the great majority of society, will give nothing to the support of either ; and, consequently, they will fall as an overwhelming burden on the classes who least require them, or sink to the earth altogether. Men can never be entrusted with the payment of their spiritual monitors any more than they can with that of their temporal judges ; for if so, the independence and utility of both will be destroyed, and the distinctions, selfishness, and weakness of the world, introduced into the bosom of that institution which is destined to correct them. Nor are the estates set apart for the support of the sacred order to be regarded as lost to society ; they support the class who perform the most important functions in the state, whose duties, if adequately discharged, will alleviate many other oppressive burdens ; and, even if partially neglected, these estates are more beneficially employed for the people than those of the nobility or gentry, who are often absent from their homes, and do nothing for the people whatever.

It is remarkable that in this great debate the two parties into which society is divided take sides directly opposite to what *a priori* might have been anticipated ; the Conservative or aristocratic body strenuously contending that the ecclesiastical body should be supported from its own estates, or laid as a burden on the property of the wealthy classes ; the friends of the

people, that they should be thrown as a burden on the industry of the poor. But this seeming anomaly is easily explained, when the political influence of the church is taken into consideration; men incline in the end to the support of the side from which their subsistence is derived; and, therefore, each party is anxious to undertake the burden of this establishment for the sake of the leaning to their interest which they think it will in consequence exhibit.

The argument of the Voluntaries proceeds upon a mistaken view of the object of an ecclesiastical establishment, and the quarter from which the fund for its endowment should be obtained. It is a mistake to say that an established church taxes or burdens the members of one communion for the support of another. What it does, and what it professes to do, is to *set apart a separate estate* for the support of the clergy of a particular denomination. Its grand object, its leading and inappreciable advantage is, that it provides for the *maintenance of religion out of the estates of the church*, without burdening or taxing any human being. It is just to *avoid* the taxation of the members of one persuasion paying those of another, that it requires payment from the members of no persuasion at all, but provides for the clergy from the separate and independent estates of the church. It is true that in many cases, and in order to render the growth of ecclesiastical property commensurate with the increase of the population and the spiritual wants of the people, the separate estate of the church is vested in tithes; and this it is which gives rise to the delusion of supposing that the members of one persuasion are taxed to maintain the ministers of another. But even when

this is the case, it is not the tithe-payer who maintains the church—it holds a separate estate jointly with the lay-owners of the lands which subsist on its share of the fruits of the soil. If he did not pay the tithes to the parson, he would be obliged to pay an additional rent to the landlord. He has two landlords instead of one; one for the stock and one for the tithe; but the payment for the two together is not a shilling greater than it would be if one were extinguished. Even the Irish peasantry are beginning to see this; they perceive that if their tithes are abolished the only result will be that the rents will be proportionally augmented; and already the cry has become general, "No tithe, *and no rent in lieu of tithe.*"

A decisive proof of this occurred in Scotland, where, as is well known, the whole vexation consequent on the drawing tithes in kind has for two hundred years been entirely obviated by the wisdom of the old Scottish Parliament and Charles, who laid the burden, as was done by the late act, directly on the landlord, and relieved the land altogether on payment of the fixed amount. This had no effect whatever in diminishing the burdens which fell on the Scotch tenantry. Every body at all acquainted with that country, knows that for a century past the rent paid to the landlord to the north of the Tweed has more than equalled the rent and tithe together to the south of that river. This was felt in the time of the income tax, which was calculated in Scotland by the act of Parliament, on the principle of the profits of the farmer being *half* the rent of the landlord, which was generally complained of as far more than the farmer really made; whereas in England, where no such rule was adopted, but the actual income of these two

classes was ascertained, as nearly as it could be, the return proved, as Arthur Young had long before estimated, that the farmer's profits were *equal* to the rent of the land. So little had the Scotch farmers gained by the law which threw the payment of the clergy as a direct burden on the landholders. Nor is this result surprising. The clergyman, having a life interest only in the soil, is a far more indulgent landlord than the proprietor who can transmit a lawsuit to his son. The Parliamentary returns prove that the tithe, on an average of all England, is not a twentieth of the produce.

"Holding that the tithe is a separate estate from the lay-owner's share of the fruits; and that the farmer would be not one shilling benefited, but probably rather impoverished if he were thrown on his landlord alone to settle both for stock and tithe, it is clear that the principle of an establishment, is, that the clergy should be paid by *a separate estate belonging to the church.* This being the case, the superiority of such a mode of providing for the clergy over the Voluntary system is obvious. For what does the Voluntary system do? Why, it makes every poor man *pay for his own seat* in church, and it proposes to maintain the clergy solely by the revenue raised from these payments. Now, whether is it best for the poor to have the clergy who are to instruct them in their religious duties paid out of their own hard-earned wages, or out of a separate landed estate belonging to the ecclesiastical body? That comes back to the other question, "whether is it best that they should be relieved from unavoidable distress by a poor-rate levied on the rich, or in hospitals maintained by a capitation tax levied on all their unhappy

inmates? In a word, is it best for the poor to have religious instruction provided for them *gratis* by an establishment paid out of its own funds; or to have its support thrown as a burden on the sweat of their own brows? One would have thought that even the spirit of faction could find little to advance in favour of the latter alternative. Yet, strange to say, it is the alternative with which the Voluntaries everywhere close, which the party who profess themselves in a peculiar manner the friends of the poor, generally support; and which the more clear-sighted infidels and reprobates universally applaud, from a distinct perception that religion, established on so irksome and burdensome a basis, will not long exist to thwart the undisguised reign of passion and licentiousness, for which they so ardently pant.

An Established Church, therefore, is peculiarly and emphatically, as Cobbett well expressed it, "the church of the poor." It sets aside large estates for their religious improvement and consolation. Its fundamental principle is GRATUITOUS INSTRUCTION. On this important subject, we cannot refrain from quoting the admirable and eloquent words of an able periodical journal, in the hope that they may here find a more durable place of deposit than in its able pages. "The Established Church is peculiarly '*the Church of the poor man.*' Was there ever a truth more undeniable than this, or one more pregnant with vast and awful consequences? The parish church is open to the whole community. The humblest inhabitant of this wide realm, the most destitute pauper that knows not where else to seek a resting-place, enters therein with a spirit, humble indeed, as befits him, towards his Maker, but

towards man, erect in conscious equality of brotherhood with the wealthiest and noblest of his fellow-creatures. Shut, then, the door of this house of God, by taking away the legalised subsistence of its ministers, and by refusing the fund that protects it from dilapidation—what follows? The rich and noble, the independent, the comfortable, the competent, the tradesman, the artisan in constant employment, all who have wherewith to feed and clothe their families, and to pay something towards the maintenance of a Church, and the support of its minister—all such can by money obtain a right of admission, and can hear the word of God without impediment; but what becomes of him who has no money, who can contribute nothing, who has not bought his way into the list of the congregation? What does the Voluntary principle do for *him*? Let him try a meeting-house of political Dissenters—let him try any place of worship raised, and its minister maintained, by subscription, or by money contribution under any form, and see what will be the success of his application to the porter or functionary who keeps the gate. For the very poor, who cannot afford to *pay*, there is no help in the 'Voluntary principle.' But in the Established Church, those who pay not a farthing are entitled, as their indefeasible birthright, to receive all which can be there supplied to the worn-down spirit and the broken heart—the solemn prayer—the inspired Word—the Holy Sacrament—that peace and blessing which the world cannot give, but of which our charitable advocates for 'religious liberty' would, in their beneficence, despoil the children of affliction—the chosen ones of Christ! Yes, the Established Church of England is emphati-

cally the 'poor man's church,' and cursed be he who would destroy it. The established clergy are the poor man's ministers: they are bound to yield him, when called upon, and they do yield him spiritual instruction and consolation, as ordained by the *law* under which he lives; and cursed again, we say, is he who would rob the poor man of this his inalienable possession here—this passport to his immortal inheritance in a better world."*

It is no answer to this to assert that in many instances the Established Church does not fully discharge these duties; that thousands of the poor are unprovided with seats in many of its places of worship; that they are driven to Dissenting meeting-houses from the failure of the Church to receive them within its bosom. All that may be perfectly true; but all that proves nothing against the principle of an Establishment. Because the overseers or guardians of the poor in some parishes neglect their duty; because in an hour of delusion a Malthusian Parliament may have shackled innocent pauperism with the manacles of guilt, does that prove any thing against the wisdom and necessity of a state provision for the poor in the complicated and artificial state of society in which we live? A state religion is just as necessary as a state army, or a state navy, or state judges. The people are as incapable of adequately providing themselves with spiritual instruction as they are of raising an efficient defence against their enemies by means of volunteer corps. Such additions may be valuable as allies to the soldiers of the state, but they can only be relied on in seasons of fervour, and are totally insuffi-

* Times.

cient if deprived of the lasting support of regular soldiers. If the existing population, especially in the great manufacturing cities, is inadequately provided with spiritual accommodation, that is a very good reason why that accommodation should be doubled or trebled—it is a very good reason why a portion of the state funds, or of local funds raised by assessment from all classes, should be applied to remedy the evil, and extend the pale of the Establishment, so as to include all its souls, but none at all why the principle of an Establishment itself should be abandoned. If the public defence requires an hundred thousand regular soldiers, and the state has only fifty, that is a good reason for augmenting the supplies, so as to raise the additional fifty, but none at all for abandoning, in the face of all experience, the principle of a standing army altogether, and having recourse to the fleeting fervour of voluntary service.

A state religion, if established on a right basis, is capable of keeping pace with the wants of any population, how fast soever it may advance. Even in America, doubling as it does over the whole Union in twenty-five years, ample means of making the establishment keep pace with the wants of the inhabitants exist, if there were a government possessed of the requisite vigour to bring them into play. Take the case of England, and of its great towns, where the growth of the population at the present time is most rapid, and the means of providing funds for their payment is, from the absence of tithes within their limits, most difficult. Can there be the smallest doubt that the means of adequately extending the Establishment exist, if the temper of the times, and the firmness of the Legislature,

would permit them to be called forth? London increases at present at the rate of fifty thousand a-year; Manchester at that of eight thousand; Glasgow perhaps nine. Can it be seriously doubted that in such an increase of wealth there is contained the means, if adequately called forth, of embracing all within the bosom of the church? Consider what the burden really comes to. London would require to build and endow annually twelve churches; Manchester two; Glasgow two. Is that an enormous, a crushing burden upon these vast and growing cities? Upon London, with its sixteen hundred thousand inhabitants and all the wealth of the empire flowing through its bosom; or Manchester, with its two hundred and forty thousand souls, and its surrounding province covered with houses; or Glasgow, with its two hundred and ninety thousand inhabitants, and its harbour dues, which have risen from L. 1200 a-year to L. 45,000 in the last thirty years? Funds to double and triple the requisite sum are annually levied in these great cities for local purposes of far inferior importance to the adequate supply of religious instruction gratuitously to the poor.

The argument that the duty of providing religious instruction may be safely left, like that of provisions and clothing, or luxuries, even for the most numerous community, to the insulated efforts of individuals, and the stimulating influence of free competition, has been an hundred times refuted; Dr Chalmers has given it a death-blow; but still the Voluntary party, with unwearied perseverance, bring it forward to their deluded followers; therefore it must still be seriously considered. The principle of free com-

petition adequately supplying the market, true in regard to all objects of *immediate necessity or instant gratification*, is wholly false in regard to that equally important class of objects which, disagreeable or distasteful at first, are only salutary in their *ultimate results*. This is the ruling distinction, and it is of universal application. For example, the supply of bread, butcher-meat, coal, vegetables, clothing, and house accommodation, may safely, in all communities, and at all times, be left to the private efforts of individuals, because they are objects of primary necessity and universal use, the want of which will immediately bring home suffering to the most reckless and inconsiderate of the people. On the same principle, the care of providing luxuries may safely be left to the same unaided exertions, because they minister to artificial wants, natural passions, or acquired appetites; but the case is widely different with regard to objects which, though equally important, or still more salutary *in the end*, are not so pressing or alluring in *the beginning*; such as national defence, whether by sea or land, public justice, general education, police, the maintenance of the poor. The support of these establishments is doubtless in the end not less necessary to all the individuals in a society than an adequate supply from the butcher or the baker; but, nevertheless, the universal experience of mankind has soon discovered the necessity of having these vital objects provided for by a compulsory assessment, and discarded as utterly nugatory the Voluntary system, and the unaided efforts of individuals when applied to such subjects. What sort of a provision for the poor would exist in the manufacturing districts of England or Scotland, if they

were left to Voluntary charity, as in Ireland? There is the great example of the practical working of the Voluntary system, as applied to the poor; and what has been the result? Why, that Ireland has become the great *officina pauperum* for all the adjoining states, and exhibits now a mass of destitution and misery unparalleled in modern times.

It is another great evil inseparably connected with a Voluntary Church, that it lays the burden of maintaining the religious instructors of the people upon those only who go to church; leaving the immense mass of *the irreligious, the selfish, and the indifferent to pay nothing.* Who maintain the charities, revenues, and hospitals in every great city of the realm? A few hundred persons, whose names appear at all subscriptions; a few thousand in the metropolis who give to every thing, while the whole remainder of the community, embracing the vast majority in numbers, and a decided preponderance in property, give nothing to any such purpose. Let any man compare the number of names in the list of any charitable body from its collectors within a certain parish or district, with the names in the tax-collector's books for the same district, and he will at once be convinced of this. A shilling or sixpence in the pound, levied on the whole community, will produce infinitely more than from five to an hundred pounds each, subscribed by the charitable and humane. Every person practically acquainted with these matters knows that this is the case. But why are the religious and the humane alone to be burdened with the expense of the religious establishment? We tax all the community alike for the support of the army and navy, the interest of the public funds, the

civil list, and the judicial establishment? Why should a different principle be followed in the maintenance of the spiritual militia, whose duty it is to ward off the incessant seductions of human passion, the unwearied assaults of the great adversary of mankind? What should we say to a grave proposition, that the brave and the warlike alone should support the army—those who have a nautical turn, the navy—those who have need of law-suits, the judicial establishment?—Yet this is exactly what the Voluntaries propose when they argue that every man should pay for his own clergyman, as he pays for his own apothecary or physician; and as a necessary sequence, that they who have no need of any spiritual instruction or consolation whatever should be entirely freed of all ecclesiastical payments. Nay, what they contend for is far more absurd than this; for it is the same thing as if it were proposed that the charitable and humane should alone maintain the poor, with the aid of such pittances as they can wring from the poor themselves: and the immense mass of the wealthy, selfish, and indifferent pay nothing at all: the precise evil which ever has and ever must, in every advanced and old community, render the imposition of a poor's rate indispensable, both for the maintenance of the poor and the equal distribution of the burden thence arising.

Nor is it a light evil that religion, if left to the voluntary support of the devout portion of the community, must lose its appropriate character of the instructor and chastiser, to become the amuser or exciter of the people. In maintaining that this is the necessary result of the Voluntary system, we mean nothing disrespectful to the Dissenting clergy, who

can boast many able and pious men in their ranks; we only apply to them the ordinary and established principles of human nature. A lawyer must accommodate his arguments to the known tendency or views of his judges, and sometimes flatter even the prejudices or passions of the jury: an actor must study the sympathies and feelings of his audience: an apothecary must gratify the whims or caprices of the fine ladies, or elderly valetudinarians, whose frequent fees compose three-fourths of his income. If the clergy derive their income from the same species of payment, they must be in danger of descending to the same necessity: those who live by the public must accommodate themselves to the public. The fashionable preacher who is to be attended by the votaries of Almacks or the opera; who is to address beauteous forms sinking under the languor of dissipation, or whiskered fashion recently emerged from the gaming-house, must select such topics, and use such language as is fitted to awaken the sympathy of that polished, but artificial and mawkish class of society. The thundering orator who addresses the denser masses of the middling ranks, must, by the opinions which he introduces, and the semi-political style of the doctrines which he promulgates, keep up the favour of the bustling consequential class on whom he depends for his subsistence. Ardent political zeal, factious democratic ardour, activity under the rose in canvassing and electioneering, will be the *sine qua non* to popularity in these places of public worship. Meanwhile, the immense mass of the lower orders, the labouring poor in the country and towns, who now obtain their seats in church gratis, disgusted with the new and unheard of payments

demanded from them in every place of public worship, will quietly drop off from religion of any kind, and, as in Paris, live altogether without God in the world. A few places of fashionable resort for the higher ranks —a few popular meeting-houses for the lower will be filled with crowded audiences; but a great majority of the people will be brought up, and live without any religious instruction or consolation whatever. This is what takes place at Paris, where, in consequence of the scanty endowments of the establishment, the practical operation of a state of things very nearly approaching to the Voluntary system has long existed. There several crowded audiences are to be seen: many handsome young priests, with curled black hair, and fine whiskers, descant in eloquent strains to a melting audience of fashionable ladies on the love of God: the bonnets and artificial flowers at St Roch or St Genevieve resemble the parterre of the opera, and files of carriages drive on Sunday afternoon from the "favourite preachers" to the gardens of the Tuileries: but meantime the greater part of the churches in the crowded parts of the city are visited only by a few decrepit old women: eight hundred thousand human beings know religion only by name, or as a picturesque remnant of the olden time, singularly effective in stage effect: the theatres every night teem with licentiousness and obscenity: the illegitimate births are rapidly approaching to the legitimate,* and two or three dead bodies are every morning fished out of the Seine, the victims of disordered passion, and unrestrained licentiousness.

How, in such a state of dependence on the suffrages

* They are now as 12 to 19 in Paris. In London as 1 to 38.

of the people, can religion maintain its exalted character, and discharge its first duty as the *condemner* of popular vice? Can we expect the clergy to preach themselves down to a state of destitution and inanition, by resolutely *opposing the prevailing passions of the day?* Yet this is the first duty of the pulpit. To moderate public fervour, whether political, sensual, avaricious, or fashionable—to set the eternal mandates of the Most High against the sinful suggestions of present excitement, is the one thing needful. How can we expect the faithful discharge of this duty in opposition to the mandates and wishes of the declared majority? We know from Tocqueville, what results in the political world from institutions which give an unrestrained authority to a numerical majority. "The real reproach," says that able writer, "against democracy, as it is constituted in the United States, is not, as many persons in Europe imagine, its weakness, but, on the contrary, its irresistible strength. What revolts the mind most in America, is not the extreme liberty which prevails, but the slender guarantee which exists against tyranny. When a man or a party suffers any injustice in the United States from the majority, to whom is he to apply for redress? To public opinion? It is formed by the majority. To the legislative body? It is elected by the majority, and slavishly obeys its directions. To the executive power? It is named by the majority, and is the mere executor of its wishes. To a jury? It is the judicial committee of the majority. To the judges? They are elected by the majority. How unjust or unreasonable soever may be the stroke which has injured you, it is impossible to find a re-

medy, and submission is unavoidable."* Nor is this despotic force of the majority confined to political measures; it descends to all the minutiæ of life, regulates all opinions, and is, in an especial manner, fatal to that dignity and elevation of mind which should ever be the leading characteristics of the instructors of the people. "Among the immense crowd," continues the same author, "who in the United States take to the career of politics, I have met very few men who possess that manly candour, that independence of thought, which characterized the Americans in their war for independence. You would say, on the contrary, that *all their minds are formed on the same model,* so exactly do they adopt the same opinions. I have sometimes met with true patriotism among the people, but I have often looked for it in vain among their rulers. This is easily explained. Supreme power ever depraves and corrupts its servants before it has irrevocably tainted its possessors. The courtiers in America do not indeed say Sire! your Majesty! Mighty difference! But they speak without intermission of the natural intelligence of their sovereign—they do not stop to inquire what are the virtues most to be admired in a prince, for they attribute to their many-headed ruler every imaginable virtue under Heaven—they do not give him their wives and daughters to make his mistresses, but by sacrificing their opinions *they prostitute themselves to his service.*"† Such is the prostitution of public opinion in secular matters, which results from the absolute government of the majority, the complete establishment of the Voluntary principle in government. But what

* Tocqueville, ii. 145, 146. † Ibid. 156, 157.

is that in comparison to the debasement of religious feeling and opinion which must result from the same irresistible influence of a numerical majority, in consequence of the general establishment of the Voluntary principle; and the subjection of our religious teachers to that miserable subservience to public fervour or passion from which they were happily delivered by the setting apart of extensive estates for the permanent support of the Church?

Observe how the independence of the clergy is affected by the Voluntary System. The moment that, from being judges of morals, appointed for life, they become tenants at will merely, their integrity, their respectability, their usefulness, is at an end. They will never venture to face the "tyrant majority" of their congregations—be the prevailing sin what it may, religious, worldly, selfish, or political, they will never venture to oppose those who hold the keys of their subsistence. The Dissenters invariably keep their clergy in a state of dependence—even the strong motive of obtaining for them political votes and influence, has not in a single instance, it is believed, made them set their hands to stamped paper, so as to give any minister in their appointment a life interest in his office. No eastern despot was ever more jealous of life-appointments in his judicial servants than these little democratic bodies are of a life tenure of his office by their clergyman. Even if a pastor, under the Voluntary System, is fortunate enough by great exertions to overcome this jealousy, and wring from his masters, like their hearts'-blood, a life appointment, still his state of dependence is nearly as great as before. Having no fixed or extraneous

income, being entirely dependent on voluntary offering or seat-rents for his income and subsistence, he must fall in with the opinions or passions of the majority or lose his bread? Can we expect a fashionable preacher at the west end of the town, in corrupt and degenerate days, to set his face against courtly vices, or denounce the wrath of Heaven against kings who executed injustice, or nobles who leagued against the people? Will a popular clerical orator of the citizens, in the high and palmy days of democracy, inveigh in adequate and fearless language against the vices, the corruption, and madness of the people. How soon would the first lose his courtly assemblage of high-born dames and waltzing damsels, and the second find his rounded sentences re-echoed from empty pews! Yet is the minister of the gospel never to set his face against prevailing vices? Is he ever, like the cameleon, to take his hue from the prevailing opinions by which he is surrounded? Is the tyrant majority to stand for ever holding in its hands, not only the gates of worldly preferment, but, like a second Pope, the keys of Heaven and hell? Are we to go to church only to hear the prevailing opinions echoed from the pulpit, with just such a tinge of religious thought as may make them lose a little of their worldly character? Are we to return to the days of the Long Parliament and the fervent Voluntaries of Charles I.,

> "When oyster-wives do lock their fish up,
> And trudge away to cry no Bishop?"

And yet this, traced out to its ultimate consequences, is the necessary result of the Voluntary System of Church discipline, which professes to be calculated for the interests of the poor.

Yet, along with all this, it is another vice of a Voluntary church, that it is essentially, and in a matter where no such distinctions should ever be introduced, *aristocratic in its tendency*. Those who have a fervent wish for the real and durable interests of the poor, will here feel themselves called on by sacred principle to take their stand. On all the great questions, where their real interests and welfare are at stake, they will ever be found espousing their cause with as much vigour as they oppose those who, for selfish purposes and with callous hearts, would inflame their passions. Actuated by this principle, and devoutly impressed with the equality of all mankind in the sight of Heaven; recollecting that the gospel was in an especial manner preached to the poor; believing that it is the first duty of Government to provide, at the expense of the great and affluent, for the spiritual instruction and consolation of the destitute, they will fearlessly denounce the Voluntary System as ruinously aristocratic; and as creative, even in the Sanctuary of the Temple, of those invidious worldly distinctions which should never be permitted to pass the vail.

What does the Voluntary System propose to do? Does it create one vast and magnificent establishment, embracing all ranks and classes in its bosom; the same to the prince and the peasant—the servant and the master—the outcast of men and the rulers of nations? Does it confound all distinctions of ranks in the sight of Heaven, and denounce the same awful words of death and judgment to come to the monarch on the throne and the captive in the dungeon? Does it, like the Established Church, whether Roman or Protestant, create a vast bulwark against violence and injustice—

"Whose ponderous gate and massy bar
Have oft rolled back the tide of war;
But never closed the iron-door
Against the needy and the poor?"

Alas! it does none of these things—it does the very reverse. Into the bosom of the Church, into the interior of the Sanctuary, it introduces the distinctions, the divisions, the heart-burnings of a temporal existence. It divides the rich from the poor, the noble from the peasant, the ruler from the citizen, the learned from the ignorant, the virtuous from the vicious; the contributions of the rich it reserves for their own instruction or edification; the consolation of the poor it leaves to the miserable pittances which can be wrung from the sweat of their brows. The large estates, whether in lands or tithes, which the piety of former ages had bequeathed, or the wisdom of former legislatures set apart for the gratuitous instruction of the poor, it confiscates to the necessities of the state, or the cupidity of the selfish. No longer will there be seen the magnificent spectacle of the national church, which, confounding all the distinctions of time, embraces in its ample bosom alike the prince and the peasant, the rich and the poor. No longer the touching spectacle which the Papist cathedrals exhibit of all ranks kneeling indiscriminately on the marble pavement; no longer the dignified and truly Christian oblivion of rank in the parish church of Old England. The rich and fashionable will flock to one place of worship, where, in courtly and eloquent strains, they will hear a *modified* system of Christianity—the middling ranks to another, where, in sterner language, and from a more earnest though ruder preacher, they will inhale a very different system of

theological belief. No longer will be seen the devout audience, where one simple line of duty is prescribed to all classes indiscriminately, one awful denunciation held forth to all sinners alike; no longer the dispersion of one congregation, after service, amidst the bones of their ancestors resting in one common mould, and the hopes of their descendants following one common God. The rich will lie in one place of sepulture, the poor in another; the cruel distinctions of time will extend even beyond the grave; avarice, standing with callous hands at the gate of the church-yard, will deny all entrance save to the corpses of the affluent or the respectable: huddled together, with hardly any rite of sepulture, the poor will be consigned to an ignoble and soon forgotten grave.*

To prevent these evils, and secure the inestimable blessings of a common religion, maintained by a general fund for all classes, and especially for the gratuitous instruction of the poor, it is indispensable that the church should be maintained *by separate estates of its own, and in no degree made to depend on payments from government.* The moment that this fundamental principle is violated; the instant that, under any circumstances, or on any plea of alleged expedience or necessity whatever, the property of the church is permitted to be mingled with the general revenue of the state; the instant that the tax-gatherer is permitted to get his hands on the ecclesiastical revenues; from

* In Glasgow, where the Church Establishment is so totally disproportioned to the numbers of the people, the rich are buried in a noble place of sepulture, equal to the *Pere la Chaise* at Paris; while the poor were too often thrust into great trenches, without even coffins to shelter their remains; an evil so crying and excessive, that it has led to the establishment of several joint stock companies to provide more decent places of sepulture.

that instant the independence of the church is at an end, and the clergy are reduced to a slavish dependence on the votes of the legislature for the portion which they are to be permitted to extricate from his gripe. Mr Burke long ago placed this necessity in the clearest light. "It is from our attachment to a Church establishment," says this great writer, "that the English nation did not think it wise to intrust that great interest of the whole to what they trust no part of their civil or military public service, that is to the unsteady precarious contribution of individuals. They go farther. They certainly never have suffered, and *never will suffer* the fixed estate of the church to be converted into a pension to depend on the treasury, and to be delayed, withheld, or it may be, extinguished by fiscal difficulties; which difficulties may perhaps be pretended for political purposes, and are, in fact, often brought on with the extravagance, negligence, and rapacity of politicians. The people of England think that they have constitutional motives, as well as religious, against any project of turning their independent clergy into ecclesiastical pensioners of the state. They tremble for their liberty, from the influence of a clergy dependent on the crown; they tremble for the public tranquillity, from the disorders of a factious clergy, if it were made to depend on any other than the crown. They, therefore, made their church like their king and their nobility, independent. From the united consideration of religion and constitutional policy, from their opinion of a duty, to make a sure provision for the consolation of the feeble and the instruction of the ignorant, they have incorporated and identified the estate of the church with the mass of private property, of which the state is *not proprietor*,

either for use or dominion, but the guardian only and the regulator. They have ordained that the provision of this establishment might be as stable as the earth on which it stands, and should not fluctuate with the Euripus of funds and actions. And as the mass of any description of men are but men, and their poverty cannot be voluntary, they will know that that disrespect which attends on all lay poverty will not depart from the ecclesiastical. Our provident constitution has, therefore, taken care, that those who are to instruct presumptuous ignorance, or be the censors of insolent vice, should neither incur their contempt nor live by their alms; nor will it tempt the rich to a neglect of the true medicine of their souls. For these reasons, while we provide first for the poor, we have, with a parental solicitude, not relegated religion, like something we are ashamed to show, to obscure municipalities or rustic villages. No! we will have her to exalt her mitred front in courts and Parliaments. We will have her mixed throughout the whole mass of life, and blended with all classes of society. The people of England show to the haughty potentates of the world, and to their talking sophists, that a free, generous, and enlightened nation, honours the high magistrates of its church: that it will not suffer the insolence of wealth, and titles, or any other species of possession, to look down with scorn upon that which they look up to with reverence, nor presume to trample on foot that acquired personal nobility, which they intend always to be, and often is the reward of piety, learning, and virtue. They can see without pain an archbishop precede a duke. They can see a bishop of Durham or Winchester in possession of ten thousand a-year; and cannot conceive why

it should be worse in their hands than the like amount in the hands of an earl or a squire, though it may be true that so many dogs and horses are not kept by the former, and fed with the victuals which ought to nourish the children of the people."*

As the French Revolution was destined in other points, to be the great commentary to illustrate and demonstrate the wisdom and truth of Mr Burke's principles, so in nothing more clearly has this taken place than in reference to the propositions contained in this splendid passage. In proof of it we shall not refer to the example of what occurred in France during the Revolution, when, after the property of the church had been confiscated to the service of the state, under the solemn pledge that the ministers of religion should be adequately provided for, they were massacred, guillotined, reduced to beggary, and religion itself abolished by decree of the legislature. Passing by these insane and troubled times, we shall come down to the provision made for public worship, under the able and vigorous government of Napoleon, premising that in 1807, when the budget to which we refer was published, France contained 36,000,000 souls, and that the property of the church, of which the state got possession during the Revolution in old France, or the countries which ere that she had incorporated with her empire, were rented at above 100,000,000 francs, or L. 4,000,000 Sterling.†

* Burke's Reflections on the French Revolution, 190, 191, 199.

† BUDGET OF 1807.

	Francs.	
Army—Ordinary,	195,895,000	344,349,000, or L. 13,500,000.
Do. —Extraordinary	147,654,000	

Support of religion over the whole empire 12,423,000, or L. 520,000.—See Bignon, Hist. de Nap. xii. 280.

Thus, after the property of the church had been appropriated to the state, France was not able to devote to the maintenance of religion more than a *tenth* of the ecclesiastical revenue it had confiscated, and only a *twenty-eighth part of the annual cost of the army.* A pittance of L. 500,000 a year alone, set apart for the support of religion and its ministers, among a population of thirty-six millions of souls, was obviously a mere mockery. And this is the effect of letting the treasury get hold of the ecclesiastical revenues, under the promise of adequately providing for the ministers of religion, and of the Voluntary System!

The strongest, however, and the most irresistible argument remains behind. The true test of the utility of any ecclesiastical system is its ability to provide for the spiritual wants of the people. Let us examine whether or not the voluntary system has been found capable, by actual experience, of performing in an adequate manner this first of Christian duties. For this purpose we shall select two cities pre-eminent in the British islands, for the advantages which there were afforded for the successful operation of the Voluntary System—Glasgow and Edinburgh

In 1770, as already noticed, the population of Glasgow was 32,000; it is now nearly 300,000. The Custom-House duties were then L. 300 a-year; they are now L. 480,000. In 1804, the rental of the city was L. 81,000; it is now L. 319,000!* Here there was a vast and growing population, which had sprung up with such rapidity, as to have totally outstripped the places of established public worship, which were accommodated to a population of thirty or forty thou-

* Cleland's Statistical Account of Glasgow.

sand; and, at the same time, possessed of such vast and growing wealth, as afforded the most ample scope for supplying the deficiency if possible, by means of the Voluntary System. Circumstances, too, were there singularly favourable to the application and extension of the Voluntary principle; for this vast population, collected together by the demand for labour from all quarters, embraced a great number of persons of different countries and persuasions, at variance with the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Among the rest, it contained nearly 13,000 Episcopalians, chiefly poor from the north of Ireland, and 40,000 Papists from the southern parts of that island. How then has the Voluntary System, under circumstances so eminently favourable for its operation, supplied the spiritual wants of the people?

It must be premised, that of late years the Church Extension Society has met with extraordinary support in Glasgow. Struck with the necessitous situation in spiritual concerns of a large proportion of the people, a limited number of public-spirited and Christian individuals contributed largely to the fund for extending church accommodation. They were only two hundred in number; but their united donations at once reached L. 25,000, and the fund has since risen to L. 42,000. This sum has been frugally and judiciously administered, being laid out in part hitherto in buying up for the establishment dissenting meeting-houses which had become insolvent, and which were generally got at half cost, or in constructing new edifices on the most economical plan. The city also made great efforts from the municipal funds to provide additional church accommodation; and the Papists, Episcopalians, and Dissenters, strained every nerve

to augment the places of worship of their respective communions. Here, then, was the most powerful aid given, both by public funds and private munificence, to the Voluntary principle.

Now, so far has the Voluntary Principle from being able to provide for this growing population, even from the enormous and rapidly increasing wealth of Glasgow, that it appears from the Report of the Parliamentary Commissioners, who inquired into the condition of the Scotch church, that, in 1838, there were no less than 66,000 persons for whom there was no accommodation in any place of religious worship, of any denomination, in the city or suburbs. * This number must have increased now by at least 14,000, as the population has advanced 20,000 in the years 1838 and 1839; and the efforts made to extend the places of worship during the same period have only succeeded in opening churches adequate to 6000 souls. Thus there are now not less than *eighty thousand* persons in Glasgow without any means of religious instruction whatever; and that, too, in a city in which the ecclesiastical establishment, which amounted, when the rapid progress began, only to six churches, was almost equal to nothing; in which a boundless field was opened for the labours of the Dissenters; and in which the prodigious and unprecedented increase of wealth, gave every imaginable facility to their efforts. If, in such a situation, the Voluntary System has proved utterly ineffectual for the great purposes of religious instruction, what can be expected of it in less favourable circumstances; in rural districts, thinly peopled countries, or declining

* Report, 1838, p. 72.

communities, where funds for the religious instruction of a poor or destitute people could by no possibility be obtained from voluntary efforts?

There is another most important circumstance brought out by these valuable statistical inquiries:—It is, that this dreadful accumulation of heathens in a Christian land, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the magistrates, the established clergy, the humane and wealthy, and the whole body of the Dissenters of all sorts, is continually and rapidly on the increase,—that it grows at the rate of about twenty thousand every ten years, or two thousand a-year.

It is easy to see, the more especially if we reflect on the fact, that the increase of population is invariably most rapid in the lowest classes of society, what an enormous and growing addition is thus annually made to the dissolute, the irreligious, and profane. Taking into view their probable increase of numbers, by their own multiplication, it is not going too far to assert, that in every half century, Glasgow alone, at this rate, will produce *one hundred and fifty thousand.* And this is founded on what has actually occurred during a period of almost unbroken prosperity, when wealth unprecedented was devoted by private charity to the extension of church accommodation,—when the Dissenters of all denominations, under the combined influence of sectarian rivalry and political fervour, made unexampled efforts to extend their respective flocks,—and when the municipality laboured to the uttermost, to extend the means of religious instruction to the people. If, under such eminently favourable circumstances, the Voluntary System, even with the support of most powerful aid from the Establishment, has allowed the arrear of eighty

thousand to accumulate in a single city, what could be expected from it if the Established Church were altogether destroyed ? *

* "During the last fifteen years there have been erected eighteen churches, which, including the increase in the churches that have been enlarged, have added 19,547 sittings to the church accommodation of Glasgow, Barony, and Gorbals. The population in 1821 was 147,000; and, supposing, as before, that the population is now (1835,) 235,000, there has been an increase since 1821 of 88,000 souls.

The number of sittings which this increase would have required, at 60 in the 100, is . . .	52,800
From which deduct the sittings provided, . .	19,547
Leaving unprovided of the increase, . .	33,253

"From this it appears, that, independently of all the churches which have been provided, both by the Establishment and the Dissenters, for the last fifteen years, to meet the increase of the population during that period, there remains an awful and overwhelming deficiency. Over and above the 19,547 sittings which have actually been provided, and supposing each church to contain 1000 sittings, 33 additional churches would have been required. With all our exertions, we have done little more than make provision for *one-third of the increase* of the population. It is supposed that the population of Glasgow is at present increasing at the rate of between 8000 and 9000 annually, and *for this increase alone*, at least *five new churches* would require to be provided annually. Without the interposition of a wise and beneficent Government, I know not what is to become of our destitute population. For nothing can exhibit in a more forcible light than the preceding statistics, the total inadequacy of all our combined efforts to provide for the spiritual necessities of our rapidly increasing population; and this, let it be remembered, without being able to make provision for reclaiming a single outcast of the previously unprovided thousands who have so long been left neglected, and are perishing for lack of knowledge. Whatever opinions may be formed as to any of the subjects involved in the previous portions of my statistics, the present series, at least, admits of neither doubt nor controversy. Argument cannot weaken it—sophistry cannot darken it—and speculative opinion can find no room for its vague and specious objections amidst its stubborn, positive facts."—Collins's Statistics of Church Extension in Glasgow in 1835, p. 47—64.

The details of sittings in each church and chapel are given by Mr Collins; but we give the results only, as alone of general interest. The Voluntaries have also published a statement, and they make the unprovided persons 75,000 only.

Moreover it appears from the same statistical researches in Glasgow, that the unlet seats in the Dissenting churches are a *third*, in the Established Church only a *seventh*.* This illustrates in the strongest manner the total inadequacy of the Voluntary System to provide for the religious instruction of the poor. Being for the most part drowned in debt, and having in general no endowment for the support of the minister, they are forced to make their seat rents so high, as amounts with the indigent or depraved classes of the community to a complete prohibition. And hence the marked difference between the proportion of unlet seats in the churches of the Establishment and of the others; that being at least not burdened with the interest of building their respective places of worship, they can afford to let the seats on more moderate terms to the humble classes of the community. And these results do by no means exhibit an Established Church in its true light as the gratuitous instructor of the people. For in Glasgow there is no fund except the seat rents to pay the clergy; no tax is levied on the inhabitants for the support of the clergy. The Established Church is there, in consequence, only a *quasi* Establishment. Yet even there the immense relief occasioned by being free of the cost of building the churches, has caused the extraordinary difference between the proportion of the let to the unlet seats in the Established Church and the Dissenting places of worship.

* Total sittings in Established Church, . 34,522
Of which are unlet, . . 5,700
Total Dissenting sittings, . . 44,872
Of which are unlet, . . 15,88
Collins on the Religious Wants of Glasgow, 19–21.

The same conclusions result from the examination of Edinburgh by the Parliamentary Commissioners; though as the growth of population in that city has been more slow, and the Established Churches are in consequence much more numerous, the total deficiency in church accommodation has not been so great. Still there are no less than 45,000 persons in that city for whom there is no room in the whole churches and chapels of every denomination it contains. And of the general result of making no provision for the increase of the population in the Established Church, and the total inadequacy of the Voluntary System to provide for the spiritual wants of the people, a memorable example has recently occurred in Scotland, where, from a general sense of the magnitude of the evil, and the dangers which it threatened to society, a great effort has been made by the munificence of the higher classes to extend the establishment, and, in consequence, L. 200,000 have been raised, and led to the erection of two hundred places of worship. The majority of these nurseries of religion, however, will, it is to be feared, ultimately be closed, or cease to be of any material service in diffusing Christianity among the people, if the aid of the public funds is not extended, to endow in a permanent manner those churches, which the fervour of temporary zeal, and the efforts of extraordinary eloquence, have originally constructed.

If the British empire in one quarter has demonstrated the inadequacy of the Voluntary System to provide for the spiritual wants of the people, in an ancient, opulent, and dense population; it has not less clearly evinced in others the total inefficiency of the same system, for keeping pace with the growth of co-

lonial settlements, or instructing rude and wandering man in the elements of religious belief. From some very interesting documents which have recently been published regarding the ecclesiastical necessities of Australia, it appears that the spiritual destitution of the people, in that remote but rapidly increasing settlement, is even worse than in the vast commercial city of Glasgow; and that, unless Government shall interfere for the support of the religious teachers by a public provision, on a scale much more liberal than has been yet attempted, more than three-fourths of those noble colonies, and that, too, the very part which stands most in need of moral improvement, will grow up without any idea whatever of religion, and in a state of darkness and sensuality from which the transition would be a blessing to heathen rites.* Among many great and important duties to humanity which she has nobly performed, Great Britain has hitherto unaccountably neglected the provision for religious instruction in the magnificent colonies which she has established in so many quarters of the globe; and the seeds of future discord, and the probable ultimate dissolution of her empire, have been sown in the necessary effect of the disregard of that first of social duties, and of the neglect to extend to them that strongest of social bonds.

* The population of Australia in 1839, was 102,000; and the numbers attending any places of Christian worship, were

Protestants of all denominations,	11,000
Roman Catholics, . .	2,450
	13,450

Leaving nearly 90,000 who never go to Divine worship, and will soon be ignorant of all religious truth.—Colonial Magazine, June 1840, p. 197.

The example of America has been confidently appealed to as illustrating the opposite side of the question, and as proving that not only is the Voluntary System capable of adequately providing for the religious instruction of the people, but that the Gospel itself, being detached from worldly passions, and secluded from political jealousy, acquires in such circumstances a greater and more durable sway over the human mind, than it ever can do when united to the state, and so involved in the weakness of the corruptions and the decay of empires.* The example is well worthy of consideration, not merely from the great and rising portion of civilized man from which it is drawn, but from the weight justly due to the author by whom it is advanced; for it comes from a political philosopher, whom posterity will rank with Bacon and Machiavel. But in this instance, we may fairly conclude that M. De Tocqueville, notwithstanding his wonted discernment, has been misled by the religious persuasion to which he belongs, and the effect which that persuasion has had in rooting up the foundation of belief in his native country.

A good Catholic, as he himself tells us, he has lived amidst an infidel generation; and he would fain ascribe to the union of Church and State in France that fatal apathy or disbelief which he feels is poisoning the seeds of life in its urban population, but which, in fact, arises from the unbending tenets, and erroneous doctrines of its Established Church. No such infidelity is observed in England; on the contrary, the spirit of its people is uncommonly religious; and the Established Church the object of greater attachment than in any country in Eu-

* Tocqueville, 224–236.

rope. He is forcibly struck with the religious spirit and austere morality which generally prevails in the United Provinces; and he ascribes those blessings to the emancipation of religion from the shackles of the state; forgetting that there was another emancipation of Christianity from a more rigid domination, which was accomplished three centuries before the rise of transatlantic independence, and that if Luther had not severed the Gospel from the shackles of Rome, it would have been to little purpose that Washington rescued America from the rule of England. It is the assertion of the supremacy of the head of the church to all other authority,—the establishment of one unbending faith for mankind in all ages and circumstances,—which is the real barrier which stops the growth of Christianity in Roman Catholic countries, in all ages of enlightened reason. The Gospel established no such barrier; reason rejects it: every country which has embraced the Romish persuasion is by it doomed to the eventual decay which, for the same reason, has stopped the growth, and hastened the decay of all Mahomedan empires. The Church of Rome, equally with the Koran, has clothed man in a spiritual armour, which admits neither of expansion nor contraction with the growth of his race; it may suit him well in adolescence; but for that very reason, when he arrives at manhood, it will suffocate him, or he must burst its bonds asunder.

A religious and austere character has been imprinted upon a great part of the Anglo-American race by the first settlers, who, two centuries ago, sought refuge there from the persecutions of Charles I.; and no one has better illustrated than M. De Tocqueville, the

durable influence of that original circumstance upon the subsequent character of all their descendants.* We must not conclude, because such a people are in a high degree religious, and because a great number of churches are maintained during the fervour of its republican zeal, and when property is still in a general state of equality, that the same system would answer equally well in other nations, or even in that nation itself when the period arrives, as arrive it will, of great cities, huge properties, corrupted manners, dense masses of the poor, selfish habits in the rich, and universal thirst for pleasure. It is to that state that society in every civilized community is inevitably tending, and it is the part of prophetic wisdom to establish those institutions, which shall afford the best guarantee which the weakness of humanity will admit for the continued propagation of the Christian faith, in such circumstances of neglect or worldly repugnance. How could a voluntary church exist in such a community? How long would it exist with the support only of voluntary contributions in modern Paris, or would it have existed with such aid alone in ancient Rome? An established religion which is compelled to preach doctrines inconsistent with human intelligence, and which are unable to bear the light of fearless examination, may, and probably will, fail in such circumstances, to sway any considerable portion of the highly educated classes; but one which is subjected to no such necessity, and appeals to scripture and reason for its basis, will never lose its hold, at least till the nation is utterly corrupted, of any class of the people. And this, accordingly, has been decisively proved by

* Tocqueville, i. 40, 45.

experience. Roman Catholic France waxed infidel with the growth of its philosophical knowledge, and the Romish faith proved unequal to the contest with the revolutionary demon; but Protestant England adhered to her faith, alike through the corruptions of prosperous, and the storms of adverse times: and that glow of devotion which had been weakened by the worldly triumphs of one age, has only been rendered the stronger by the calamities which the mercy of Providence sent to chasten the next.

Even with a view to the temporal interest of the state, it is of the very highest importance, that a national religion should be not only preserved, but rendered so ample as to embrace in its bosom the great majority of the people. A common church is the true bond which cements society together; which unites the high and the low, the rich and the poor, the prince and the peasant, the outcast of men and the rulers of nations. There is something touching in the enduring efficacy of this unseen tie, which effaces all the jealousies and distinctions of time, and unites in one holy brotherhood all who worship a common Father. In trying difficulties, in the last extremity, it is this sacred principle which prompts men to the sublimest efforts of which history has preserved a record; which strengthened the arm of the Spartans at Thermopylæ, and nerved the soul of the Christians at Lepanto; which animated the long triumphs of the Roman Legions, and created the boundless dominion of the British navy; which inspired the sacrifice of Numantium, and fired the torches of Moscow. Withdraw this enduring bond; sever this unseen tie, and society has lost the only

principle which can sustain its fortunes through all the mutations of fortune. America may exceed England in the multitude of her children; she may outstrip her in the extension of her dominions; but, till she obtains a national religion, she will never rise to similar efforts of heroism, nor produce the same durable impression on mankind. Interest will divide her inhabitants; selfishness paralyse her efforts; temporalities absorb her genius; the Polar Star will be awanting, which has guided the British soul through all the perils of the deep, and rendered her name boundless, as the race she has implanted in the earth; immortal as the spirits she has prepared for the Heavens.

The Roman Catholic clergy dwell with emphasis on the innumerable sects into which the Protestant Church is divided; and Bossuet long ago predicted that Protestantism would ere long perish from its own divisions. In this observation of the eloquent French prelate, there is involved a signal error, and in the numerous divisions of the Reformed Church is to be discerned, when properly considered, only the clearest proof that Christianity in them is working out its destined influence on the human heart.

If all men were capable of reasoning soundly for themselves, or understanding the arguments of others, it might perhaps be hoped, that error and absurdity would by degrees be banished from religious as from scientific subjects; and that we would look back on the polemical disputes of the middle-ages, as we do to the scholastic jargon of the schools, or the cycles and epicycles of the Ptolemian philosophy. But unfortunately this never can be the case. The en-

grossing interest of religious opinions always induces multitudes to think on these subjects who are incapable of accurate reasoning, and totally ignorant of the first principles of philosophy. The fatal position from which they set out, that the precepts of religion, as they understand it, are superior to the conclusions of reason, opens the door to every species of absurdity. It never occurs to these enthusiasts, that although doubtless the doctrines of revelation are paramount authority, yet in ascertaining what *are its doctrines*, the exertion of human reason is indispensable; in other words, that, admitting the Divine source of religious precept, we are yet frequently constrained to call in the aid of human powers to explain its import, and point out its application. In the very act of claiming the supremacy of their faith, they are obliged to avail themselves of worldly weapons; and the infallibility which they assert for revelation is, in truth, for their own judgment in preference to that of other men.

This is the true cause of the general prevalence of religious error, and the experienced inability of human reason, in so many cases, to prevent its dissemination. It arises from the multitude who think on religious subjects, compared with the limited number who can understand its doctrines; from the universality of human passion, and the limited sway of human reason. There is no ground for hoping, therefore, that, in the progress of society, any material improvement in this respect will be effected. It would no doubt be highly desirable if the absurdities of religious sects could be extirpated, and religious precept reduced to the simplicity of its divine original; just as it would be if vicious passions could be extirpated from the human heart, and virtue and industry universally diffused. But the one is not

more likely than the other. Science is gradually cleared of error, because no powers are brought to its cultivation, but those of reason; politics contain always an intermixture of error, because its doctrines are blended with the struggles of faction; religion is deformed by fanaticism, because its truths awaken the hopes and fears of the multitude who are governed by passion, as well as the few who are influenced by truth.

There is nothing peculiar, therefore, to religion in the innumerable absurdities which are always propagated in its name. It shares in this respect only in the common fate of all subjects of thought which are blended with human passion, and interesting to the great body of mankind. The most common error in the present day consists in supposing that the people in general are to be influenced, even in regard to contemporaneous events, by their reason; whereas they are entirely governed in their opinions on such topics, by their interests, their prejudices, or their passions. The Girondists, in the Legislative Assembly of France, confidently expected that, by the force of their arguments, they would bear down the efforts of the Jacobins; but the event soon proved that where popular passions are roused, the force of demonstration itself is speedily destroyed by the contests of faction. This consideration furnishes an unanswerable argument against the extension of the elective franchize to the great body of the people. It has no occasion to be illustrated by argument; experience everywhere demonstrates its truth; and mankind will in the end be generally convinced, that to subject the legislature to the *direct* influence of the multitude, is to subject them in periods of tranquillity to the contention of interest, and in moments of agitation to the storms of passion.

It is the same with religion—a general diffusion of its interest engenders all the errors and vices which flow from the intermixture of worldly passion. But this fact will not warrant the conclusion, that the diffusion itself is an evil, or that the cause of virtue is not essentially aided even by the errors which flow from its dissemination. The existence of these errors is an indication that *religious impressions are working generally upon the human mind*, and assuming in consequence the varied hues which belong to the infinite variety of character which it exhibits. It is in this way alone that the impression of its truths can be *generally* diffused, and adapted to the intellectual weakness of the great body of mankind. If pure reason or Supreme Wisdom alone were employed in its support, it would find as few disciples as mathematics or astronomy. The eloquence of Cicero, the piety of Socrates, failed in rousing any general emotion; but the fervour of Peter the Hermit tore up the whole nations of the west, the fanaticism of Mahomet convulsed the globe. Let us not, therefore, regret the divisions which arise from enthusiasm, or the fervour which gains the mastery of passion. The weak, the timid, the visionary, are gained by its exertions: millions whom reason cannot convert, or religion restrain, are subdued by its attraction. It alone grapples with vice in the recesses where its springs are to be found: imagination, always more powerful than reason, is called to its support; at its command the passions themselves are made the ministers of improvement. Nature intended few men to be philosophers, but opened to all the paths of salvation; she has therefore made science depend only on the developement of reason; but consti-

tuted not reason alone, but imagination and fancy, the bearers of her mercies to mankind.

The boasted uniformity, therefore, of the Catholic Church, in fact, arises from anything rather than a general diffusion of religious feeling, or a due execution of the intentions of its Author; it is the consequence of that indifference to its precepts which results from popular ignorance or civil oppression. It proves, not that all men think alike on religious subjects, but that few think about them at all. Extensive reflection on such topics as necessarily draws after it difference of opinion, as general observation displays variety in the human countenance or character; and it is in this sense that the celebrated prophecy of our Saviour is to be understood.* Dissolution of morals and public licentiousness generally prevail where religious difference is unknown; because religious precept is never made the subject of serious thought: austerity of morals and public virtue often redeem the absurdity of fanaticism, because the feelings of devotion have made a profound impression on the human heart. It may be a more agreeable task to the historian to recount the annals of a great church, than the divisions of innumerable sects, just as it is more interesting to follow the course of a splendid river than the wanderings of a thousand rills; but the beneficial effect of the latter is infinitely greater than the former. Sterility and desolation often characterize the banks of a mighty stream, while riches and plenty mark its division into smaller channels: it is not while it flows through the rocks of Lybia, that the unbroken waters of the Nile diffuse their fertilizing influence, but when they are spread through the

* "Verily I say unto you, I bring not peace into the world, but a sword."

plains of the Delta, and tinged by the varied colours of the soil through which they flow.

From these principles, there equally follows the expedience of the fullest and most unlimited toleration.

"Truth," it has been said, "is one, but errors are many, and every man has a different one." This observation points to the advantage of giving the freest scope to sectarian speculation. Unless the minds of men are retained in the fetters of superstition, thought on religious subjects is unavoidable; and the only question comes to be, How is this speculation to be turned into the channel where it may do the most good and the least harm to the community? By unlimited toleration, the divisions of Dissenters become so excessive, that they soon cease to be formidable either to the cause of true religion or the tranquillity of the State. The absurdity of these different sects is, indeed, frequently deplorable during the period of their prosperity; but when the novelty of their establishment has passed away, they gradually fall into neglect, and are succeeded by others which minister, in some more popular way, to the unceasing desire for excitation among the people. In this way, error on religious subjects is constantly prevented from acquiring a formidable consistence; and the friends of rational piety may behold, without alarm, the successive growth and decay of the various religious sects which, at different times, agitate the public mind. These sects act like so many safety valves in allowing the escape of the dangerous passions which convulse mankind; the ardour of fanaticism and the fumes of enthusiasm are seldom formidable among civilized states, but when they are compressed by external oppression.

It is civil distinction which envenoms the shafts of religious controversy. Neither the Church of England nor the cause of truth have any thing to fear from the efforts of the numerous but divided Dissenters in Great Britain; but both are seriously endangered in the sister island, by the condensation of the whole fanaticism of the state into a body of ignorant and discontented Catholic zealots.

Farther, the emulation of rival churches, and the free discussion of religious subjects, is essential to keep alive the talent of the established clergy, and prevent the growth of ecclesiastical error. If men who are independent in their circumstances are not roused by external competition, they will speedily sink into inactivity. The danger of Dissenters is, that they will be excited to frenzy, that of the Established Church, that they will sink into slumber. The errors of Sectarians are often distressing; but they are not nearly so formidable to the cause of truth, as the obstinate adherence to darkness which characterizes a despotic and bigotted church. Reason sees much to lament in the Puritans of England, but it sees far more in the superstition of Spain;—the one, by the discussion which it provokes, prepares its own downfal; the other, by the silence which it enjoins, aims at eternal duration.

Finally, religious enthusiasm, whatever may be its blemishes, is a necessary and useful tribute to the weakness of mankind. In vain would a church be established, adorned by all the talent, supported by all the learning, graced by all the piety of the age. By these means, the rational and enlightened might be secured; but what would become of the irrational and the ignorant, of the multitudes whom superstition

rules, or fancy sways, or passion misleads; of the young who are deaf to reason, but alive to feeling; of the aged, who can be roused only by the terrors of devotion? They, too, must be led into the ways of salvation; religious instruction, couched in a language to which they will not give ear, can never influence their conduct. The enthusiasm there is not to be regretted which grapples with passion; the divisions not to be lamented which excite curiosity; the fervour not to be despised which counterbalances the enjoyments of sin. Let us regret the weakness of our nature, not the means which Nature has established for its correction; and, in the midst even of the aberrations of reason, discover the operation of causes destined to reform and purify the human heart.

CHAPTER XIV.

ADVANTAGES AND DANGERS OF POPULAR INSTRUCTION.

ARGUMENT.

Necessity of Religious Instruction—Increase of intellectual vigour and activity flowing from general Education—Corresponding danger with which it is attended—Effects of intellectual cultivation on the majority of men—Its total inefficacy as an antidote to sin—Dangers of exciting the imaginations of men beyond their sphere in life—Examples of the effect of extended information on the increase of crime from Scotland—From England—From France—From Sweden and Norway—From America—Only remedy which is likely to be effectual in resisting the progress of depravity arising from the extension of human desires beyond the means of gratifying them, which their circumstances afford.

"EDUCATION," says M. Coussins, "if not based on religious tuition, is worse than useless;" and every day's experience is adding additional confirmation to the eternal truth. The Almighty has decreed that man shall not, with impunity, forget his Maker, and that no amount of intellectual cultivation—no degree of skill in the mechanical arts—not all the splendours of riches or the triumphs of civilisation, shall compensate for the want or neglect of this fundamental condition of human happiness. The proofs of this great truth are overwhelming, universal; they crowd in from all quarters, and the only difficulty is to select from the mass of important evidence that which bears most materially upon the question at issue.

That education, if based upon religion, may be expected to produce very different results, from education left to run riot for itself, or left only under the flimsy guidance of intellectual cultivation, is self-evident. The great cause of the total inefficiency of the latter for preservation, viz. the extremely small portion of mankind over whom it ever can exercise any sensible influence, compared with the multitude with whom pleasure and excitement are the ruling principles, is noways applicable to *religious* feeling. Every man has not an understanding capable of cultivation, but every man has a soul to be saved. Universal as is the stimulus of the senses and passions; as universal, if early awakened, are the reproaches of conscience, and the terrors of judgment to come. The Gospel was, in an especial manner, preached to the poor; not only are its leading principles obvious to every understanding, but its principal incidents find their way to every heart. Doubtless, there are great numbers in every age, and especially in every opulent age, to whom all its exhortations will be addressed in vain, and in whom the seductions of present interest or pleasure will completely extinguish all the effect of the most pointed denunciations of future dangers, either in this world or the next. But, still, the number of those whom religion can prevent from sinning, or reclaim from vice, is incomparably greater than those whom science or philosophy can affect. The proof of this is decisive. Every age of the world has shown numerous examples of nations convulsed, sometimes to the last degree, by religious fervour and sectarian enthusiasm, but nobody ever heard of the masses being moved by science or philosophy. Chemistry

and mechanics are very good things, but they will never set the world on fire.

It is self-evident, therefore, that, as the dangers of unregulated education consist in this, that works which are to do the people good, appear, like the paths of virtue, thorny and uninviting in the outset, and are felt to be beneficial only in the end, while deleterious and exciting productions, like the temptations of vice, are exciting and agreeable in the outset, and to every capacity, and are perceived only to lead to sackcloth and ashes, when it is too late for any effectual amendment of life or manners; we must look for a preventive to this general and serious evil, in some counteracting principle of *equally universal application*, and equally powerful efficacy. The experience of ages, not less than the feelings of our own hearts, tell us, that the only antidote to it is to be found in the intimate blending of education with religious instruction. It is by this union alone, that the antagonist powers of good and evil can be equally developed by the powers of education; that the attractions of sin can be counteracted by opposite principles of equal force and general efficacy; that we can give its true developement to the principles of Christianity, and screen public instruction from the obvious reproach of adding force to the dissolving powers in the many, and imparting strength to the counteracting forces only in the few. These, accordingly, are the principles of M. Coussin on this subject. "Religion is, in my eyes, the best, *perhaps the only basis* of popular instruction. I know a little of Europe, *and have never witnessed any good popular schools where Christianity was awanting.* The more I reflect on

the subject, the more I am convinced with the directors of the *Ecoles Normales*, and the ministerial counsellors, that we must go hand in hand with the clergy, in order to instruct the people, and make religious education a *special and large part of instruction in our primary schools.* I am not ignorant that these suggestions will sound ill in the ears of some, and that in Paris I shall be looked upon as excessively devout; but it is from Berlin, nevertheless, not Rome, that I write. He who speaks to you is a philosopher, one looked on with an evil eye, and even persecuted, by the priesthood; but who knows human nature and history too well not to regard religion as an indestructible power, and Christianity, when rightly inculcated, as an essential instrument for civilising mankind, and a necessary support to those on whom society imposes hard and humble duties, uncheered by the hope of future fortune, or the consolations of self-love."*

Even if this blessed union could be accomplished, although every school in the kingdom was blended with the fundamental principles of Christianity, and every seven hundred persons in the empire had, according to Dr Chalmers's favourite scheme, a pastor allotted to them, still much would remain to be done to prevent the spread of mere knowledge from being an addition to the lever by which vice undermines the fabric of society. Still there would remain to sin, the advantage, always great, and in the later stages of society of peculiar efficacy, that it proposes *immediate* gratification to its votaries, and invites them to a course of reading from which instantaneous excitement or pleasure is to be obtained. The exciting and

* Rapport sur l'Instruction de l'Allemagne, p. 272.

dangerous part of the press, in short, is in possession of precisely the same allurement by which sin so generally succeeds in overwhelming the suggestions of virtue; and the question betwixt secular and religious education just comes back to the old combat between the antagonist principles of virtue and vice. Firmly believing that the main reliance of the friends of humanity, in such a conflict, must be laid in the influence and co-operation of religion, few will yet probably be so sanguine as to imagine, that, in the greatest possible degree of church extension and religious education, there is to be found anything like an effectual and complete antidote to the poison which lurks in the fruit of the tree of knowledge. It is to no purpose, to refer to instances of rural pastoral districts, where virtue exists almost undisturbed by vice for centuries together, in the simplicity of religious belief, and generation after generation pass through their innocent span of life almost unstained by crime. True, they do so; but how long would these same persons, innocent when not led into temptation, withstand the allurements of general education or a licentious press, ancient opulence, and corrupted cities?

But though the dangers of education, if not based on the most sedulous moral and religious culture, are thus formidable, the addition which intellectual cultivation makes to the *powers* of mankind is prodigious. The extrication of the talent which lies buried in the obscurity of humble life, has the most important effects on every branch of public prosperity; on the growth of opulence,—the improvement of art,—the extension of industry,—the enlargement of knowledge. From the vigour which emanates from

the middling and lower orders is derived the energy which upholds the cause of public freedom, and resists the corruption of ancient dynasties. In the obscurity of the cottage, far from the seductions of rank and affluence, is nursed the virtue which counteracts the decay of human institutions,—the courage which defends the national independence,—the industry which maintains all the classes of the state. When the public prosperity is founded on this broad and undecaying basis, the fabric of society, like the pyramids of Egypt, may long stand unshaken amidst the convulsions of fortune.

Indirectly, therefore, the education of the lower orders has a general effect, and produces lasting consequences upon the whole classes of the people. The talent which it developes, the wealth which it accumulates, the energy which it calls forth, constitute the great sources of public prosperity. The whole community is vivified and sustained by the qualities which it draws forth from a limited class of the people. The persons, indeed, whom nature has qualified to feel the enjoyments or receive the cultivation of knowledge, may not be a tenth of the entire population; but it is by them that the fountains of public welfare are opened, and on their exertions that the maintenance of public happiness depends. If the aphorism of Lord Bacon be true, that knowledge is power, the extension of knowledge continually augments the means of beneficence which man can confer upon man.

The elevation also of the more intelligent of the middling or lower orders to the higher stations in society, operates as a continual incitement to the poorer clas-

ses to emulate their example. Few may be successful in the attempt; but the efforts made by many improve their habits and their usefulness, and render them better members of those humble walks in life from which they are unable to ascend.

If the enjoyment of study could be made universal, and intellectual cultivation rendered the means of weaning men from the grosser pleasures of sense, the warmest anticipations of the friends of public instruction would indeed be realized; but, at the same time, the lower orders would be unfitted to discharge the most important duties which society requires them to perform, and the great machine of civilized life would stand still, for want of persons to attend to the coarser parts of the engine. The wisdom of Nature has confined the gift of intellectual ability to that proportion among mankind whom the public interest requires to be employed in intellectual pursuits, and not suffered either the happiness or the usefulness of the great majority to be disturbed by desires or habits inconsistent with their humbler but not less important duties.

Because a part, however, are alone qualified for intellectual exertion or enjoyment, it does not follow that the means of instruction should not be afforded to the *whole* people. Few of the higher orders have a musical ear, or an eye for drawing, or a turn for classical literature; but that is no reason why the elements of these delightful sources of enjoyment should not be generally taught. It is impossible to say *à priori* in whom the power to cultivate or the taste to appropriate these branches of literature or art are to be found; and unless instruction is generally diffused, the great-

est abilities, the most useful powers will be lost to the state. Of the seed which the husbandman sows, the greater part is choked before the powers of vegetation expand; but from the few which take root the whole sustenance of mankind is derived. Had the rudiments of education not been generally taught in Scotland, the genius of Watt might have slumbered in unnoticed obscurity, and the powers which will change the face of the civilized world never been awakened: and, but for the schools of elementary instruction in America, the patriotism of Washington might have been for ever unknown, and the liberty of the western hemisphere extinguished in its cradle.

Finally, the education of the people is the only method of diffusing generally the blessings of religious instruction. Whatever may be thought of the possibility of making the great majority of mankind appreciate the pleasures of scientific acquirement, there can be no doubt, that, by the force of *religious emotion*, the most extensive public effects are to be produced. It is not necessary to refer to the period when the enthusiasm of the Arabs changed the face of the eastern, or when the passion for the crusades convulsed the nations of the western world; the experience of the present times is sufficient to convince every impartial observer, that the most powerful agent on the human heart is religious feeling, and that the fiercest passions of the multitude can, for a time at least, be allayed by its influence. The fanaticism of the Covenant alone roused that unconquerable spirit among the English commoners which laid the foundation of British liberty; and the illiterate peasantry of Ireland are now swayed with despotic power by the leaders of the Ca-

tholic Association. In truth, the only feeling which permanently affects all classes of society is the influence of religion; because it alone addresses itself to the hopes and fears which are common to all. Unlike science or philosophy, which speak a language interesting only to a limited class, its precepts are universally understood, and the necessity for its consolations felt alike by the humblest and the greatest of mankind. The Divine precept which commanded the Gospel to be preached to the poor has found a responsive echo in every human heart; and, in the illumination of the people on the great principles of religious belief, revelation has prepared new laws for the government of the moral world. It is by the education of the people that information on these momentous topics can be most widely diffused, and the truths of revelation best separated from the clouds by which they are enveloped from the weakness of human reason.

But while these blessings and advantages of popular instruction are fully admitted on the one side, it is not less material to observe on the other, how wide-spread and formidable are the dangers with which it is attended. It is by a due balance and appreciation of both that this powerful spring in human affairs can be duly directed; and, instead of being the devastating force which tears society in pieces, become the regulated power, which moves forward the stream of human advancement.

It is to no purpose to refer to the case of despotic states in which a great degree of general instruction prevails, and no social or political evils have yet been found to arise from its extension. It may be per-

fectly true that in Prussia, one in ten, and in Austria, one in twelve, are at the schools of primary instruction, and, nevertheless, that neither of these countries has been disturbed by political convulsions, or exhibited any alarming increase of social depravity. The real difficulty emerges for the first time, when an uncontrolled press, liberal institutions, and a redundant population co-exist with a generally educated people. It is *then* that the antagonist powers of good and evil, which are ever at work in humanity, are really brought into collision, and the experiment is made whether the human mind, gifted with the power of knowledge and left to itself, would take the right or the wrong direction.

From the earliest times, the experiment had been made upon the widest scale, of the influence of education upon a certain portion of society, without its ever having been found capable either of arresting the progress of national degradation or stopping the corruptions of the very classes among whom it prevailed. The higher ranks among the Greeks and Romans were not only well but highly educated; but nevertheless it was they who corrupted the lower; and long before the ignorant masses were contaminated, corruption, sensuality, and every species of profligacy had utterly poisoned all the sources of public welfare in the dignified portions of society. The same fact is exemplified in every page of European history.

With whom did the corruptions, which brought about the French Revolution, originate? Was it among the millions of ignorant, laborious men who toiled in humble life, not one in fifty of whom could read; or among the thousands of the privileged class,

who were all highly educated, refined, and cultivated? No person will say that *their* education was based upon religion; for they were, probably, the most infidel generation that ever existed upon the face of the earth, and we have seen to what their intellectual cultivation led. If any person would wish to know to what, in a highly civilized and opulent community, the general extension of simply intellectual cultivation will lead, he has only to look at the books found at Pompeii, ninety-nine hundreds of which relate exclusively to subjects of gastronomy or obscenity; or to the present novels and dramatic literature of France, in which all the efforts of genius and all the powers of fancy are employed only to heighten the desires, prolong the excitement, and throw a romantic cover over the gratification of the senses.

But these, say the advocates of secular education, are its effects among the great and the affluent—among those whom ambition has misled, opulence enervated, and idleness corrupted. No such result need be apprehended from the extension of knowledge to the masses of mankind, who are doomed by necessity to a life of labour, and equally removed from the dangers of idleness, the dazzling of ambition, or the seduction of wealth. Experience, however, the great test of truth, here again steps in, and tells us, in language which cannot be misunderstood, that human nature in all ranks is the same; that knowledge is power to all, but wisdom only to those who use it rightly; and that, so far from mere secular education being an antidote to evil, or a preservative against the progress of social corruption, it has the greatest possible tendency to increase both, if not re-

strained by the force of moral precept, and sanctified by the simultaneous spread of religious instruction.

The capital error of the secular education party in this matter, is the opinion that the main end of education should be to communicate or give the means of acquiring *knowledge*; whereas its real and most important object is, to form the *habits* and elevate the *character*. This is the vital point of distinction between the two parties, and it runs not merely through their opinions in regard to education as a political or social improvement, but as a means of domestic reform and cultivation. The *intellectual* educationists uniformly think that they have done enough, if they have given to mankind the means of reading, and communicated to them a great variety of facts in physical or political knowledge—not considering that this power of reading may be given, and these facts instilled into the mind, without either producing any beneficial effect, or preventing the formation of the most depraved and detestable character. They uniformly suppose that the taste for science and the love of philosophy is to combat and counteract in the minds of the masses the tendency to vicious habits, and the attractions of sensual indulgence; forgetting that it is to few only of the human race, in any rank, that nature has given the power of feeling an interest in scientific inquiry or literary enjoyment, while to all, she has, for very obvious reasons, instilled a ready thirst for the gratification of the senses. The remedy, therefore, which the secular educationists propose for the progress of evil, can, by the laws of nature, affect only a few, while the masses are swayed entirely by objects of present desire, or immediate physical grati-

fication. And hence its total and universal failure to arrest the progress either of actual crime or of general depravity.

In arguing thus, it is not intended to assert that there is either any intellectual inferiority in the working classes, as compared with those more elevated in rank or riches, or any greater tendency to depravity in them, than exists in any other class of society. In point of intellectual capacity and moral disposition, they are just the same, so far as original disposition is concerned, as those born to more elevated fortunes. But can it be seriously affirmed that in *any* rank of life, education has been found capable of enabling men generally to combat the impulses of the moment, or the attractions of sense by distant considerations or the pleasures of knowledge? Can it be affirmed that any class of men in the state, the Peers, the Commons, the Church, the bar, the medical profession, the mercantile community, have generally found in the attractions of science or the study of philosophy any effectual antidote to the stimulus of the senses? A certain proportion, no doubt, of all these bodies do find such a counterpoise, and, by the habits of reading and the pleasures of literature and philosophy, are gradually weaned, especially in middle or declining life, from the more impetuous suggestions or immediate gratification of pleasure or excitement. But can it be affirmed that this is *generally* the case? Does it obtain with the majority? Are such habits ever to be found except in a small minority? No man, in any rank of life, ever yet found a fifth part of his acquaintance, in whom intellectual cultivation or stu-

dious habits formed any counterpoise whatever to irregular or vicious habits.

The mere acquisition of knowledge, without the simultaneous strengthening of the power of self-control and steady exertion, is very often not only of no use, but absolutely pernicious; because it accustoms the mind of the young to intellectual gratification and mental excitement, without the industry and labour by which it should be acquired, and of which it is the appropriate reward; it habituates them to look for the harvest without having sown the seed or laboured the ground, and consequently disqualifies them for the actual business of life. The whole efforts now made to make science easy, and strip the path of instruction of all the difficulties with which it has been invested by nature, are founded upon an erroneous principle, and tend to divest knowledge of its best and noblest effects.

It is this which renders the general instruction, to a certain extent, of the great bulk of mankind always a experiment. They can easily acquire the craving for excitement and superficial information, but can they acquire with equal facility the patient habits, the distrust of self, the respect for others, which constitute essential elements in a well-informed and rightly constituted mind? It is evident that they can hardly be expected, generally speaking, to do so. Necessity chains them to physical labour, long before the period has arrived when scientific knowledge or philosophical information can be gained to any useful purpose. Hence the bulk of this class seldom acquire philosophical or political knowledge to any useful purpose; and the power of reading which

they have gained does them little but mischief, because it immediately throws open to them excitement, and the means of obtaining every gratification from immoral publications, whether sensual, romantic, or political, which can be attained without study; while the majority of them are precluded by physical circumstances from acquiring the habits requisite to enjoy useful information, or judge with propriety on the matters, which, either as individuals or as members of society, are brought under their consideration. "General ignorance," says Plato, "is neither the greatest evil, nor the most to be dreaded." A mass of ill-digested information is much more perilous.

There can be no mistake so great as to imagine that, if a human being is taught to read, and then turned into the world with every book, good, bad, or indifferent, equally within his reach, he will naturally betake himself to the good works and shun the bad.

Many years of painful study, and no small amount of compulsion, are necessary to impress upon all, except a few gifted spirits, the previous ideas requisite to any appreciation whatever of the pleasure derivable from the higher branches of literature and knowledge. By the working classes these years of laborious study cannot be spared. Necessity impels them to physical labour for their own maintenance, before the intellectual toil can have been undergone requisite to acquire the information or the ideas indispensable to deriving pleasure from the higher or useful branches of literature or philosophy. Generally speaking, therefore, they can never be any thing but superficial readers, and promoters of superficial literature. We speak

of mankind as a whole. Doubtless there are numerous and brilliant instances of persons whose powerful talents have at once surmounted all these obstacles; but they are the exception, not the rule.

The theory of the intellectual educationists is, that the moment the operatives are taught to read, instantly, and as if by instinct, they will acquire a taste for the best branches of literature,—that they are at once to plunge into Bacon, and Newton, and Milton, and that the attractions of the works of these great men are to form a complete counterpoise to the pleasures of intoxication or the seductions of sense. We have seen what an enormous circulation despicable works have had, and how completely, for a time at least, they have interrupted the sale of works of sterling merit and utility. Why have they done so? Simply because they appeal to topics obvious to the meanest capacity, and conjure up, in a diverting form, images with which every body is familiar. Doubtless their run will at length come to an end, and their reputation will be as short-lived as their sale has been extensive. But that does not alter the general principle. Other works of the same character will succeed, and others, and others. A superficial and ephemeral generation will never want works of a corresponding character to divert the passing hour.

As a practical commentary on the opinion, that the working classes of either sex will apply to the study of Bacon, and Euclid, and Milton, we here subjoin a statement of the number of books found in ten small circulating libraries in the parishes of St George, St James, St Anne, Soho, London, which is of no small

value in appreciating the practical working of undirected popular instruction.*

Here, then, is the practical working of the system of secular education, without moral discipline or religious training of the mind. The whole books from which any benefit could be derived, including all Sir Walter Scott's, Bulwer's and Miss Edgeworth's novels, are not above TWO HUNDRED, while the fashionable and libertine novels are nearly TWO THOUSAND. This may be taken as an example of the way in which the human mind, when left to itself, fastens immediately upon exciting or useless publications, to the entire neglect of all those which go to elevate the understanding or improve the heart. What antidote to evil would the readers in these circulating libraries find in the perusal of the 1500 fashionable or quasi-licentious novels with which their shelves are stored? Would they discover in them precepts or examples calculated

	Number.	Per cent. perused.
* Works of a good character, Dr Johnson, Goldsmith, &c.,	27	1·23
Novels by Theodore Hook, Lytton Bulwer, &c.,	41	1·87
Novels by Miss Edgeworth, and moral and religious novels,	49	2·27
Romances, Castle of Otranto, &c.,	76	3·46
Lord Byron's works, Smollett's, Fielding's, Gil Blas, &c.,	39	1·78
Novels by Walter Scott, and novels in imitation of him,	166	7·57
Novels by Captain Marryat, Cooper, Washington Irving, &c.,	115	5·24
Voyages, travels, history, and biography,	136	6·21
Fashionable novels, well known,	439	20·
Novels of the lowest character, being chiefly imitations of fashionable novels, containing no good, although, probably, nothing decidedly bad,	1008	46·
Miscellaneous old books, Newgate Calendar, &c.,	86	3·92
Books decidedly bad,	10	·45

It is added in the Statistical Journal, that the shelves of the other fifteen circulating libraries were examined, and found to contain books in a trifling degree better.—Statistical Journal, No. viii., p. 485.

to allay their passions or to chasten their hearts? Would they be inspired with contentment at their condition, or improved in habits of temperance, industry, and frugality? Would they not rather find their imaginations inflamed, and their ideas elevated to a standard inconsistent with their station in life?

Every person who has observed the condition of the middling and working classes of society of late years, must have noticed in them, and more particularly in the most intelligent and intellectual of their number, a dissatisfaction with their situation—a feverish restlessness, and desire for change—an anxiety to get out of the sphere of physical and into that of intellectual labour—and an incessant craving after immediate enjoyment, either of the fancy or the senses. This is the natural consequence of the extension of the means of reading to the mass of the people, without any attention to their moral discipline or religious improvement. They are accustomed, by the books they read, to alluring, and very often exaggerated, descriptions of the enjoyments arising from wealth, rank, and power. They become, in consequence, discontented with their own situation, and desirous, by any means, to elevate themselves into that magic circle of which they have heard so much. In the sober paths of honest industry they see no prospect of speedily obtaining the object of their desires. They are prompted, therefore, to change their line of life, in hopes of ameliorating their condition, and more rapidly elevating themselves to the ranks of their superiors. Disappointment awaits them equally in the new line as the old; they become bankrupt and desperate, and terminate their career by

penal transportation, voluntary exile, or swelling the ranks of the seditious and disaffected.

We complain that we have fallen upon an ephemeral and superficial generation; that standard literature is neglected, and a succession of useless novelties alone form the object of general perusal; that every thing is brought down to the test of utility, or debased by the intermixture of excitement and pleasure; that classical literature, the noblest foundation for education which the wit of man has ever devised, is the object of incessant attacks by a large portion of the community, and is gradually disappearing from the elementary instruction of the middle classes of society; that the great authors of our own language—the lights of Europe, the glories of the world—are left unopened upon the shelves, while an insatiable public are only desirous to hear or see something new; that science has degenerated into the handmaid of art, and the teacher of nations into the assistant of machinery; that history is looked over only to select its exciting episodes from its dreary volumes, and poetry to detach its stimulating pictures from its elevated thoughts; that every thing, in short, is essentially vulgarized, and the noble spirit of the last age seems to be expiring with the remnants of its heroic greatness. All this may be true; and great part of it is to be ascribed to the coincidence of a generally instructed people, with the corruptions incident to manufacturing wealth and long established civilisation. In literature and philosophy, as in other things, the supply in the long run will be regulated by the demand; and if the schoolmaster has called a new world into existence—if the march of intellect

has advanced into classes who heretofore studied only their Bible or prayer-book—if the craving for excitement and amusement has become almost as general as the demand for ordinary food—we need not be surprised if an inferior set of literary producers has arisen. The obvious tendency of such a state of things—of the general spread of the taste for imaginative or exciting pleasure communicated through the press, without any elevation of the moral standard, or improvement of the intellectual powers—clearly must be to weaken and debase the national character—to render the understanding the slave of the fancy or the passions, and disable the nation from undergoing the sacrifices, or discharging the duties, requisite to maintain its character or sustain its independence.

In a political point of view, the effects of the spread of mere intellectual knowledge to the middle and working classes, must obviously be attended in a free state with some degree of danger. When every body is taught to read, and one in fifty only can possibly acquire the education requisite to enable him to form a sound judgment upon political subjects, what result can possibly be expected in a country where power is substantially vested in the middle classes, and it is their voice which, in the end, constitutes public opinion, but that the government of the state is to be directed into what hands soever it may fall, by the sudden and often unreflecting or ill-founded impulses of popular excitement? It is no answer to this to say, that all is the result not of the people being educated, but of their being *imperfectly* educated; that a *little* knowledge is a dangerous thing, but real knowledge is salvation; and that these evils will disappear when the people, by

more complete and thorough instruction, are qualified to direct themselves properly in private life, and take their due share in the administration of public affairs. There is great truth in this observation; and if the majority of mankind could once be brought to obtain the information requisite for a just discrimination of public affairs, there would be no danger whatever in intrusting them with the entire government of the state. It is precisely because this is evidently and from permanent causes impossible that the danger exists. It is by the labour of man's hands, and the sweat of his brow, that he must earn not less his knowledge than his subsistence. The power of directing either thought or nations, therefore, was given to a few only, because few are called to such direction. The instinct to follow, the disposition to obey, the faculty to labour, were given to all; because by that means alone could society be maintained or improved. Let us not blame nature, therefore, for having scattered so unequally the gifts of intellectual and physical strength, but rather admire the wisdom with which she has adapted the varied capacities of different classes of mankind to their respective destinies and necessary duties. The fault lies in the error, natural, indeed, but now apparent, of men, who overlook these eternal distinctions, and, in the vain attempt to elevate all to the same mental functions, take the government of mankind from the direction of intellect and give it to that of force.

As little is it any objection to say, that a large proportion of the educated classes, who make so prominent a figure in the criminal calendars of the kingdom, belong to the class of those who are imperfectly educated, and that a different result may be anticipat-

ed, if a greater proportion get into the class of *superior* instruction. Undoubtedly this result might be hoped for, if such a change were practicable. But is it practicable? That is the point. Nothing can be clearer than that it is not. It is utterly impossible to suppose that the majority of men, either in the manufacturing or agricultural departments, can ever possess the leisure requisite to attain a chastened or rational taste in literature, or acquire the means of forming a sound judgment in politics. These are unpalatable truths, but experience proves them to be of universal application, and they are not the friends of mankind who would mislead them by flattery. Whenever individuals or societies shall venture to act upon opposite principles, they will speedily find that they have shattered themselves against a wall of adamant. This is the fundamental principle which ever has rendered, and ever will render, democratic societies, except in very peculiar circumstances, short-lived and miserable. The working classes never *can* enjoy the leisure requisite to obtain the information that is to qualify them for the discharge of the duties to which they aspire. The information of the great bulk of them must always necessarily be superficial, and consequently they constantly will be led by demagogues, who, presuming upon their ignorance, will flatter their vanity. Some among them, doubtless, are gifted by nature with higher powers, and they will deservedly rise into a more elevated station, and take their place among the directors of thought and the rulers of the state. That such characters from the humblers ranks of life should have the means of rising to the highest offices, is at once the glory and the strength of free states. The dangers and mise-

ries of democratic government consist in the overthrow of the influence of such intellects, by the passions or perverted desires of the deluded multitude.

One curious and interesting fact has been brought to light, by the French statistical inquiries on this subject. It appears, as M. Guerry has pointed out, that the great majority of the licentious females of Paris come from the northern and the most highly educated provinces of France. Deplorable as this result is, it will hardly be suprising to any person practically acquainted with women in the condition of the middle and lower classes of society. Over-education is the common source of the passions to which they owe their ruin; it is the desire for immediate enjoyment—a thirst for the pleasures and luxuries of the affluent—the love of dress, ornament, and gaiety, which are the prevailing motives that lead almost all young women astray. How much must the sway of such impulses be increased by the superficial and exciting reading which the usual trash to be found in circulating libraries affords in so overwhelming a proportion? The statistical details above given of ten circulating libraries in London, from which it appears that there are only twenty-seven volumes on morality and religion in them, and above fifteen hundred fashionable, indifferent, or libertine novels, evidently shows what an overwhelming proportion of inflammable matter is poured into the minds of the young of both sexes, by this unrestrained and undirected system of reading. Philanthropy pictures to itself the studious mechanic, consuming his midnight oil over the labours of the mighty dead,—or the weary labourer delighting his family by reading, after the hours of his toil are over; but experi-

ence draws aside the veil from the flattering dream, and exhibits to us the operative, sitting in an ale-house with dissolute companions, enlivening drink with the effusions of the democratic Press—pale factory girls devouring the most licentious publications of the day—or delicate semptresses, working fourteen hours continuously, in close confinement, and listening all the time to one of their number who reads eternal descriptions of the intrigues and dissipation of high life. It may easily be conceived to what the ideas induced by such studies must lead, in either sex; and we need not be surprised that, after a few years of such tuition, fifty thousand unfortunate females nightly walk the streets of London.

It is not to be imagined, from any thing that has now been advanced, strong and highly coloured as it may appear, that education in the abstract is an evil; or that, whether as it stands, it is a blessing or a curse to humanity, it can by possibility be arrested. Nothing is more certain than that this is impossible, and if it were possible, not desirable. General instruction, be it for good or be it for evil, is established beyond the reach of prevention, but not of regulation. Assuming that we must take general education as a fact of general application upon which all our reasonings must be founded, does it follow from that, that we are to admit this vast power into human affairs without any attempt to regulate or direct it? Every body knows that steam power both at land and sea is irrevocably introduced into the communication of mankind; but is it reasonable to conclude from these, that we must necessarily allow that new force to be uncontrolled in its operation, and permit the lives of the people to be wantonly sacri-

ficed by high-pressure engines at sea, and excessive rapid travelling at land, without any restriction? Is it not rather the part of a good government, when a new power has thus been introduced into human affairs, to take it under its especial direction, and, deducing all the good from it of which it is susceptible, to restrain its evil consequences within as narrow limits as possible?

Scotland is the great example to which the advocates of secular education constantly point, as illustrating the effect of intellectual cultivation upon the character of mankind; and boundless have been the eulogiums pronounced upon the moral virtues, steady character, and provident habits of that once held the most intellectual portion of the European population. Doubtless, as long as Scotland was an agricultural or pastoral country, and education was based upon religion—when the school-house stood beside the church, and both trained up the same population, who afterwards were to repose in the neighbouring church-yard, Scotland *was* a virtuous country, and its population deservedly stood high in the scale of European morality. But since manufactures have overspread its great towns, and a population has grown up in certain places—educated, indeed, but without the means of religious instruction, and almost totally destitute of religious principle—the character of the nation, in this respect, has entirely changed; and it is a melancholy fact, that the progress of crime has been *more rapid in that part of the British dominions, during the last thirty years, than in any other state in Europe.* It appears from the evidence laid before the Combination Committee, last Session of Parliament, that the pro-

gress of felonies and serious crimes in Glasgow, during the last sixteen years, has been, beyond all precedent, alarming, the population having, during that period, advanced about seventy per cent., while serious crime has increased FIVE HUNDRED per cent. Crime over the whole country is advancing at a very rapid rate, and far beyond the increase of the population. In England, the committals which, in 1813, were 7164, had risen in 1837 to 23,612—that is to say, they had tripled in twenty-four years. This advance will probably be considered by most persons as sufficiently alarming in the neighbouring kingdom, but it is small, compared to the progress made by Scotland during the same period, where serious crimes have advanced from 89 in 1805, to 3418 in 1838; being an increase in four-and-twenty years, of more than THIRTY FOLD.*

The celebrated statistical writer, Moreau, as already noticed, thus sums up the progress of crime in the United Kingdom for the last thirty years:—"The number of individuals brought before the Criminal Courts in England has increased five-fold in the last thirty years; in Ireland, five and a-half; and, in Scotland, TWENTY-NINE FOLD. It would appear that Scotland, by becoming a manufacturing country and acquiring riches, has seen crime advance with the most frightful rapidity among its inhabitants." †

Further, the following Table, compiled from the Parliamentary Returns of crimes tried in Scotland in 1837 and 1838, will show how extremely ill-found-

* Parliamentary Returns.

† Moreau's Statis. de la Grand Bretagne, ii. 297.

ed is the opinion, that the majority of criminals are *uneducated* persons :—*

* OFFENDERS.

		No.	Could neither read nor write.	Could read or write imperfectly.	Could read and write well.	Received a superior education.	Education not ascertained.
1837.	Males...	2391	445	1345	479	65	57
	Females	735	248	427	41	3	16
		3126	693	1772	520	68	73
1838.	Males...	2609	353	1529	569	91	67
	Females	809	198	541	61	2	7
		3418	551	2070	630	93	74

	1836.	1837.
Total Uneducated,	693	551
Total Educated,	2360	2793

Thus the uneducated criminals in Scotland are not so much as a *fifth* of the educated, and while the former are declining in numbers, the latter are rapidly increasing.

A result nearly of the same description, appears from the Criminal Returns for all England, in 1836. The following are the proportions in which the offenders are classed in the Parliamentary Returns, according to the different degrees of instruction which they have received :—

	Centesimal Proportion.		
	1836.	1837.	1838.
Unable to read and write,	33·52	35·85	34·46
Able to read and write imperfectly,	52·33	52·08	53·41
Able to read and write well,	10·56	9·46	9·77
Instruction superior to reading and writing,	0·91	0·43	0·34
Instruction could not be ascertained,	2.68	2·18	2·68

	1836.	1837.	1838.
Total uneducated,	7,033	8,464	7,943
Do. educated,	13,951	14,734	14,680

—Porter's Parl. Tables, 1837, p. 129; and 1838, p. 103 and 104.

The same results are obtained from some very interesting moral statistics lately published in the Journal of the Statistical Society of London; from the commitments of the police within the metropolitan districts of that city. From these it appears that in the C division of the metropolitan police for the year 1837, comprehending the Parishes of St James, St Anne, Soho, the persons taken into custody, with their several degrees of instruction, stood as follows:—

It is unnecessary to multiply further examples of a fact so perfectly apparent, of the total inadequacy of education to check the progress of crime in the British islands. But a very singular and most interesting confirmation of the same principles has been af-

Total committed,			7577
Could neither read nor write,		2383	
Could read and write imperfectly,		3647	
Could read and write well,		1360	
Superior instruction,		187	
			7577
Total uneducated,	2383		
Total educated,	5194		

So that the educated criminals are considerably more than double the uneducated.

In the St James's Division the proportion is still more extraordinary, being as follows:—

ALL KINDS OF OFFENCES.

	Per cent.
Can neither read nor write,	8·4
Can read only, or read and write imperfectly,	12·9
Can read and write well,	20·2
Have received a superior education,	17·6

Such a state of matters is not peculiar to London. The following Return from Cold Bathfields House of Correction, and the Glasgow Bridewell, taken at random from a multitude of similar documents, proves that secular education is doing just as little for the repression of crime, in these quarters of the United Kingdom, as in the metropolis.

Cold Bathfields House of Correction, 1835.

Prisoners,			967
Those uneducated—first imprisonment,	56	702	
Those educated—first imprisonment,	646		
Uneducated—imprisoned before,	48	265	
Educated—imprisoned before,	217		
			967

Average of Prisoners in Glasgow Bridewell, June 1834 *to June* 1835.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Can read and write,	98	33	131
Can read only,	66	77	143
Can neither read nor write,	24	28	52
	188	138	326

forded by the criminal returns of France, in the whole eighty-six departments of which it has been found that, with hardly one single exception, the amount of crime is *just in proportion to the degree of instruction which prevails;* and that it is nowhere so prevalent as in those towns and departments where education has been carried to the highest pitch. This extraordinary fact, which, as Mr Bulwer very candidly admits, has fairly overturned our highly preconceived ideas on the subject, is deserving of the most serious attention; and its authenticity called in question only by that numerous class who will believe no facts which do not fall in with their own preconceived ideas.*

Returns of exactly the same character have been obtained from the statistics of America, and are to be found in M. Beaumont and Tocqueville's able work on the penitentiary system of that country; but the details are numerous, and it is sufficient to refer to the following quotation from that work:—"It may seem that a state having every vent for its industry and agriculture, will commit less crime than another which, equally enjoying these advantages, does not equally enjoy the advantages of intelligence and enlightenment. Nevertheless, we do not think that *you can attribute the diminution of crime in the North to instruction,* because in Connecticut, *where there is far more instruction than* in New York, crime *increases* with a terrible rapidity; and if one cannot accuse knowledge as the cause of this, one is obliged to acknowledge *that it is not a preventive.*"†

* Appendix to this Chapter, A.

† Beaumont and Tocqueville on the Penitentiary System of the United States, 147.

There are, however, Tocqueville tell us, some institutions in America in which instruction does produce the effect of reforming even the most abandoned criminals. But mark the kind of education which, according to his high authority, has this effect. "The education in these houses is a *moral* education; its object is not merely to load the memory but to elevate the soul. Do not lie, and do as well as you can, are the simple words with which children are admitted into these institutions. Their discipline is entirely founded on morality, and reposes on the principles of true philosophy. Every thing is there calculated to elevate the minds of the persons in confinement—to render them jealous of their own esteem and that of their equals. To obtain this object, they make a feint of treating them from the beginning like men, and as already the members of a free society."

Scotland is the country to which the supporters of Intellectual Education uniformly refer in confirmation of their favourite tenets in regard to the influence of education on public virtue. It affords, however, to those who really know it, not the slightest countenance to their principles, but the strongest confirmation of those which have now been advanced. Scotland as she was, and still is, in her rural and pastoral districts—and Scotland as she is, in her great towns and manufacturing counties, are as opposite as light and darkness. Would you behold Scotland as she was—enter the country cottage of the as yet untainted *rural* labourer; you will see a frugal, industrious, and contented family, with few luxuries, but fewer wants—bound together by the strongest bonds of social affection, fearing

God, and scrupulous in the discharge of every moral and religious duty; you will see the young at the village school, under the shadow of the neighbouring church, inhaling with their first breath the principles of devotion, and preparing to follow the simple innocent life of their forefathers, who repose in the neighbouring churchyard; you will see the middle-aged toiling with ceaseless industry, to enable them to fulfil the engagement contracted by the broken sixpence,* or maintain the family with which Providence has blest their union; you will see the grey-haired seated in the arm-chair of old age, surrounded by their children and their grandchildren, reading the Bible every evening to their assembled descendants, and every Sunday night joining with them in the song of praise. Such was, and, in many places, still is Scotland under the Church, the Schoolmaster, and the Bible.

Would you behold Scotland as she now is in the manufacturing districts, under the modern system, which is to supersede those antiquated prejudices? Enter the dark and dirty change-houses, where twelve or fourteen mechanics, with pale visages and wan cheeks, are assembled on Saturday evening, to read the journals, discuss the prospects of their trades unions, and enliven a joyless existence, by singing, intoxication, and sensuality;—listen to the projects sometimes formed for throwing vitriol into the eyes of one obnoxious operative, or intimidating by threats other peaceable and industrious citizens;†—hearken

* Bride of Lammermoor.

† "We asked ourselves every morning, 'Why was nothing done last

to the gross and licentious conversation—the coarse and revolting projects which are canvassed—the licentious songs which are sung, the depraved tales told, the obscene books often read in these dens of iniquity—follow them on, as they wander all night from change-house to change-house, associating with all the abandoned females they meet on the streets at these untimely hours, drinking a half-mutchkin here, a bottle of porter there, two gills at a third station, and indulging, without scruple, in presence of each other, in all the desires consequent on such stimulants and such society. Observe them continuing this scene of debauchery through all Sunday and Sunday night, and returning to their work, pale, dirty, unwashed, and discontented, on Monday or Tuesday morning, having been two nights out of bed, absent from their families, and spending almost all their earnings in profligacy, happy if they have not been worked up, at the close of this long train of debauchery, to engage in some highway-robbery or housebreaking, which consigns many of them to exile or the scaffold. Such is Scotland under the Schoolmaster, the Journalist, and the Distiller; and, grievous as the picture is, those practically acquainted with the habits of many of our manufacturers will not deem it overcharged.*

night?' What did you mean by that question? Why was no body murdered?"—Moat's evidence, Trial of Glasgow Cotton Spinners, Edinburgh, 1838. Swinton's Edition.

* This relates to general habits, and the majority of instances only. Doubtless there still are, even in our greatest towns, many good citizens, who preserve, even amidst all the corruptions with which they are surrounded, the religion and virtues of their fathers.

Of the effect of this system of intellectual education in England, the following testimony is given by a most unexceptionable authority, the author of Old Bailey Experience. "The national schools," says this experienced writer, "have taught their scholars immorality, hence the demoralization of the rising generation. The very calling together so many low-born children daily, without some plan being first laid down for a moral guardianship over them, justifies the assertion, that they are taught *immorality*, and I will add (for I know it) *crime*, at these establishments. There is nothing of a mental nature performed in them: a hundred boys at one time are taught to bawl out Lon—lon—don—don, London, with a few more words, which leads them in the end to learn just enough of reading to enable them to peruse a twopenny Life of Turpin, or Jonathan Wild, proceeding to the lives of the bandits in regular course, when, with this, and they have taught each other such matter as they all gather from their *honest* and *virtuous* parents, their education is completed, they being fully qualified to figure on the *pavé* as pick-pockets. It needed not inspiration, nor prophetic powers, to see that the Lancasterian schools must necessarily become *participes criminis* in disorganizing the relations of society, the very *locale* of the plan does it." Again—"From the national schools, I never yet met with a lad who had the least notion of any self-exercise of the mind. A good and rigid system of moral education is the more needed for the children of the poor, as the habits of their parents are generally opposed to good example. At an early

age they are carried to a public-house, filled with low company; swearing and drunkenness is always before them; no habits of frugality are taught them; and when money is obtained, luxuries and drink swallow up all in one day, reckless of to-morrow. Often without any home but the tap-room, or, if a home, no fire or parent to share it with them till the middle of the night, who, returning in a state of intoxication, only increases their misery, and further vitiates their morals. Such is the condition of nine-tenths of the national school boys. Poverty compels the labourer to perform that duty which is essential to the well-being of the whole nation. Poverty, therefore, is not the evil, but indigence and debasement, which leads to crime. In the Lancasterian schools, not the slightest effort is made to excite, or exercise the mind; not one moral axiom is inculcated; no precepts of principle are instilled into the mind; all is mere rote and mechanism; their scholars offer to the world the most extraordinary collection of tyros in crime ever seen or heard of in the history of it." *

From the criminal returns quoted below, it appears that since 1820, commitments for felonies and other serious crimes have increased about 185 *per cent.* in England, and that during the same period they have advanced 200 per cent. in Ireland, but in Scotland they have increased fully 250 *per cent.* In none of these countries during the same period has the population advanced above 50 *per cent.*; so that over the whole empire serious crime is augmenting *four times*, in Scotland FIVE TIMES, as fast as the numbers of the

* Old Bailey Experience, p. 47.

people, and that, too, at a time when the most strenuous efforts have been made by all ranks to augment the means of instruction which the working classes enjoy; but almost none save of late years to increase their religious information. A more luminous and decisive illustration of the truth of the principles laid down in the preceding pages can hardly be conceived.*

Sweden and Norway have been already more than once mentioned, as countries where the material advantages of the poorer classes are very remarkable, and population advances with measured strides, under the influence of general prudential considerations and artificial wants in the working classes. Yet even there,

* Table exhibiting the progress of crime since 1820 in the British islands:

Years.	Committed. England.	Ireland.	Scotland.
1820,	13,710	12,476	1486
1821,	13,115	13,232	1522
1822,	12,201	15,251	1691
1823,	12,263	14,632	1733
1824,	12,698	15,258	1802
1825,	14,437	15,515	1876
1826,	16,164	16,318	1999
1827,	17,924	18,031	2116
1828,	16,564	14,683	2024
1829,	18,675	15,271	2063
1830,	18,107	15,794	2329
1831,	19,647	16,192	2451
1832,	20,821	16,056	2564
1833,	20,072	17,819	2711
1834,	22,451	21,381	2852
1835,	20,731	21,205	2891
1836,	20,984	23,892	2922
1837,	23,612	24,453	3126
1838,	23,094	*	3418

—M'Culloch's Stat. of Gr. Britain, i. 476–478. Porter's Tables, 1832, i. 137, 145, 144, and for 1837, p. 140, and 1838. Moreau, Stat. de la Gr. Bret. ii. 290.

and in Norway, which enjoys similar advantages, education, though generally diffused, is unable to combat the sources of evil which spring from the unlimited power of distilling spirits in their own houses, and the ruinous habits of intoxication which generally prevail. The proportion of criminals in Sweden, both in the rural and urban districts, is as great as in the worst manufacturing towns of Great Britain; * while even the simple manners, rustic plenty, and general freedom of Norway, have been unable to preserve its inhabitants from a similar deluge of vice flowing from the same cause, and evidently beyond the reach of reformation, while this perennial fountain of iniquity is permitted to flow unrestricted over the country. † Yet both Norway and Sweden are in a very high degree educated countries: instruction is universal; the

* In Sweden, out of 2,735,487 individuals living in the country, 1 in 460 was punished for criminal offences in 1837; and out of 289,280 living in towns, 1 in 78 underwent punishment in the same years. These numbers are considerably higher than the worst parts of Great Britain. In the end of 1836, no less than 13,209 persons were prisoners in the jails of Sweden, of whom only 547 were debtors. If a similar number had been incarcerated in the jails of Great Britain and Ireland, in proportion to the number of the inhabitants, they would have amounted to 118,000, or considerably more than the whole army and navy of the empire.—See Laing's Sweden, 127, 135.

† In Norway, in 1835, out of a population of 1,194,610 persons, no less than 2616 were committed for criminal offences, of which 1439 were police transgressions, and 1177 for serious crimes, properly so called. In Scotland, in the same year, the persons committed for serious offences were 2922, out of a population of 2,365,000, or 1 in 809 of the population. But of the Scotch criminals at least one-half were in Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and Dundee; so that the crime of the rural districts was not much more than the half of the Norwegian. Under the influence of cheap whisky, however, it will in a few years reach that level.—See Laing's Sweden, 110.

proportion of the whole population attending the schools is in both countries as high as in the best educated parts of Europe; and though, from the want of any considerable encouragement for the higher branches of knowledge, literary talent or scientific information is not common, yet the rudiments of instruction are accessible to all; parish schools are universal; and the parochial clergy labour with assiduous and enlightened care to preserve their flocks from the deluge of immorality which the excessive use of ardent spirits is everywhere spreading around them.* "The Swedish nation," says Laing, "is more generally educated than the English, the Scotch, or perhaps any in Europe, if we except the Danish. Elementary education in reading, writing, and the Shorter Catechism of the Lutheran Church is so universal, that even the aid of the schoolmaster in these branches is superseded in many districts, and they are instructed by their parents. The inference from these facts is, that church and school establishments in a country, however perfect and efficient, and in Sweden they are eminently so, will fail to realize those benefits which so many enlightened and good men among us anticipate from them, the improvement of the moral condition of the people. Something else is wanting." †

It would be unjust to ascribe this prodigious increase of crime in the British islands, in so short a period, entirely to the progress of popular instruction. Undoubtedly many other circumstances have been at

* Laing's Norway, 444—Sweden, 425.

† Laing's Sweden, 425, 427.

work to produce this deplorable result,—a long-continued peace,—the vast increase of manufactures,—the growth of large cities,—and many other causes have contributed to its production. But it may safely be concluded, that experience has now proved that the mere education of the poorer classes, without any care of their religious principles, has had no sensible effect in *counteracting* the influence of these demoralizing circumstances, or preventing, by the extension of knowledge and mental resources, the growth of human depravity. This is demonstrated as clearly as that two and two make four; happy if it could be safely said that the influence of such merely scientific education has only been negative, and that it has not positively added to the sum-total of general wickedness.

It is not surprising that such has been the result. The whole system of the Educationists has been built upon a wrong foundation.

The chief object of the advocates of philosophic education has been, to extend the *intellectual* powers and scientific knowledge of the labouring classes. It is for this reason that they have made such extraordinary efforts to increase the means of acquiring such information. Everywhere Labourers' Institutes, Mechanics' Reading-rooms, Penny Magazines, Penny Cyclopædias, Education Societies, Lectures on Natural Philosophy, Astronomy made Easy, Treatises on Political Economy, and every sort of institution and composition have been established with benevolent ardour, to give full developement to the intellectual powers and reasoning faculties of the lower

orders, and enable them all to understand Bacon, Newton, and Adam Smith. That these efforts were philanthropic is true; that they were natural to men of studious and learned habits, who judged of others by themselves, may be conceded; but that they were founded upon a total misconception of human nature, must be evident to every one practically or theoretically acquainted with the human mind, and that they have totally failed, is now placed beyond dispute by the result.

Sense and imagination present instant gratification, to which all are alive, because they are the lever by which nature intended that the great mass of mankind, in every grade of society, should be governed. Thought and intellect hold forth instant labour and difficulty; require years of toil and exertion; promise in the end a gratification intelligible only to a most limited class of men in any rank of life, because they were never meant to guide more than a small portion of society. It is hopeless to expect that intellectual pleasures, never at any time capable of being felt by more than one in ten, and attended in the outset with such distasteful qualities, can, when left to themselves, stand for a moment in competition with those of sense or fancy,—with licentious novels, demoralizing poetry, infidel abuse, levelling misrepresentation. No doubt, among every thousand of mankind, there may possibly be found forty or fifty who will derive pleasure from the discoveries of science, or the pursuits of literature and philosophy, but unquestionably there will never be found more than that number. The remaining nineteen-twentieths will be accessible only to physical

enjoyments, or excitation of the fancy. This is not peculiar to the lower orders; it pervades alike every walk of life,—the Peers, the Commons, the Church, the Bar, the Army. No man ever found a twentieth part of his acquaintances, even in the most cultivated and intellectual classes, who really derived pleasure from the pursuits of the understanding, or would prefer them to other enjoyments, if they could abandon them without risk to their professional prospects. We cannot expect in ploughmen or weavers, a degree of intellectual capacity which we look for in vain at the Bar or in the House of Commons.

A father sends his son to Paris, and those acquainted with the seductions and allurements of that great mart of profligacy, warn him of the dangers to which he would be exposed in the midst of every thing calculated to entrance the imagination, and captivate the senses. But the sturdy old educationist replies, "Never fear the gambling-houses, he has got Locke with him; never fear the theatres, he has the Labourers' Institutes; never fear the Palais Royal, he has the Penny Magazine; never fear the *Danseuses*, he can read Bacon." What should we say to a man in private life who should speak and act in this manner? Yet this is precisely what the education advocates have done, when they poured at once and universally into the minds of the working-classes the means of reading, not only without any effort to induce them to select what is good in preference to what is bad in human composition, but a *complete and careful abstinence* from the only antidote really capable of grappling, among the multitude, with the allurements of passion,—the influence of Religion.

If you do not instruct the people, say the advocates of the Education System, you leave them to the undisturbed control of their senses, which require no tuition; you debar them from all intellectual enjoyments which might counteract or counterbalance their influence, and necessarily subject them to the government of their passions. The argument is plausible, and has misled many a benevolent and good man; but the sophism it contains is obvious. It presupposes that the educated are admitted only to pure and *mental* pleasures; that no corruption or sensual excitement can enter by the portals of the Press; that at the intellectual feast, nothing but wholesome and salutary viands are set forth; and that, if the people only are allowed to get in, they cannot fail to be both improved and strengthened by the banquet. Alas! experience has now proved, what principle might have from the first anticipated, that the most tempting dishes are the most dangerous,—the most salutary the least attractive; that there is poison in the cup, and that, without the utmost care to separate the good from the bad, by incessantly enforcing the principles of religion, nothing but disease and death can follow the feast. It is demonstrated by the result of the experiment, tried on the greatest scale in this country, that Education, in an old and complete community, if not perpetually placed under the safeguard of Religion,—if not attended with rigorous safeguards against the intermixture of error, will be perverted from the greatest of all blessing to the greatest of all curses; that the Press will become an engine of vast power for the introduction of infidelity, discontent, profligacy,

and corruption among the people; and that, under the influence of this mighty solvent, all the bulwarks of religion and virtue will speedily give way, and one unbridled torrent of licentiousness overwhelm the land.

The great error of the philosophical party on this subject, consists in this, that they supposed that what they took pleasure in themselves, every one else would take pleasure in; and that Bacon, Newton, and Locke would prove as effectual a counterpoise to sensual allurements or guilty excitation in the whole labouring population, as it did in Herschel, or Brewster, or Babbage, or Whewell, or Professor Forbes, or Ivory, or such gifted spirits. They occasionally saw an individual or a family among the lower orders, who lived in the sober shade of study and retirement, and were most virtuous and exemplary citizens; and they figured to themselves a world composed of persons of the same description, and could perceive no bounds to the delights of the prospect. They beheld the lamp of knowledge burning in the workshop of every mechanic, and lightening the labours of every ploughman; cheering the solitude of the pastoral valley, and purifying the corruptions of the crowded city; dignifying the retirement of the poor artisan, and softening the pride of the lordly politician. The prospect was enchanting, the vision captivating, the dream delightful; it had but one fault—it was totally impracticable. The idea of the labouring poor being *generally* either brought to understand, or taking the slightest interest in, or being in the least the better of philosophical informa-

tion, is a Utopia not one whit less extravagant than the Vision of Sir Thomas More, or the El Dorado of Sir Walter Raleigh. No doubt there will always be found a certain number of individuals in the humblest, equally as the highest ranks, who will take an interest in such pursuits, and feel, in the recreation they afford, a counterpoise to the allurements of sense; but their number can never exceed three or four in the hundred. Upon the remaining ninety-five or ninety-six, they will produce no sort of impression whatever; they will never effect the slightest lodgement in their mind; but, disregarding such dry and uninteresting topics, the great bulk of mankind will fly to the journalist or the romance-writer, to abuse of their superiors, raillery at the Church, or invectives at the Government, which never fail to console them for the inequality of fortune; or stimulants to the passions, which the weakest intellect can understand.

The Penny Magazines, Penny Cyclopædias, &c. which have recently issued under the direction of the great Central Societies in London for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, are certainly a great acquisition to the amusement of such of the poor as will read them, and they may have diffused much useful practical knowledge amongst them; but in a moral point of view, they have been and are nearly totally useless. It is not by being told about the caves at Elephanta, and the size of the Pyramids; the Upas Tree, and the Falls of Niagara; the diameter of the Earth, and the satellites of Jupiter; the architecture of Athens, and the Cathedral of York; the battle of Hastings, and the height of the Andes, that the labouring poor

are to be taught the regulation of their passions, the subjugation of their wicked propensities, or the means of withstanding the innumerable sensual temptations by which they are surrounded. They may amuse an hour, but they will not improve a life; they may interest the imagination, they will not correct the heart. Such desultory and diverting scraps of knowledge form a great fund of entertainment when superadded to the foundation of a thorough moral and religious education; they are very amusing to all ranks; but is it by amusement that the duties of life are to be learned, or the fortitude acquired to resist its temptations and discharge its duties? No; it is religion which must form the basis of every system of education which is to be really beneficial, and if that one ingredient is awanting, all that is mingled in the cup will be speedily turned to poison.

The circumstance which so soon brings about the woful change, and speedily obliterates all the beneficial effects of mere intellectual information, when addressed to mankind in general, is the infinite superiority of the *immediate attractions* which inflammatory and alluring publications present to any which works of knowledge or utility can offer, and the total inadequacy of mere intellectual pleasures to stand their ground, in the great mass of mankind, against the seductions of a romantic or alluring imagination. This is an element in the case which the philosophic educationists appear to have never for one moment contemplated, but which, nevertheless, lies at the foundation of the whole question. They seem to have taken it for granted that they were for ever to have the en-

tire moulding of the public mind, the exclusive direction of their studies, and that the labouring classes would never read any thing but what issued from the presses of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. They never imagined, what has turned out to be the fact, that no sooner were the portals opened without any precautions against the admission of evil, than vice and corruption would rush in; that the inherent depravity of the human soul would give them a hearty welcome; and that at the gates formed by philosophic benevolence, sensual corruption or political extravagance would find a ready entrance.

"Knowledge," says Lord Bacon, "is power:" he has not said it is either wisdom or virtue. The extension of the means of requiring information to the middling and working classes, is the greatest of all additions to their political importance; but in itself, it is not only no safeguard against the introduction of error amongst them, and unless duly guarded, the greatest of all inflators to the depraved principles of our nature. Like the Amreeta Cup in Kehama, as already observed of the distribution of land among the poor, it is the greatest of all blessings, or the greatest of all curses, according to the character and circumstances of the people among whom it is introduced: as much as it diffuses the principles of virtue, and the habits of industry, amongst a simple and religious, does it spread the poison of infidelity, and the extravagance of passion among a more corrupted community. The power of reading in itself is neither a blessing nor a curse: it is merely an instrument of vast power put into the hands of the people, and which may be rendered an engine of the

one or the other, according to the use which is made of it, and the direction which it receives.

It is here that the vast, the irretrievable, and fatal error of the present age is to be found. It consists in the belief, which has not only been entertained, but acted upon by a great proportion of the wisest and best, as well as the most ambitious and reckless of the community, that it was sufficient for the poor if you merely taught them to read, without any attention to their preservation from the incalculable mass of error and falsehood with which the press abounds; or any care to instruct them in right moral and religious principles; and that the human mind, if left to itself, would choose the safest and most improving information, just as an animal would select out of a field the sweetest and most nutritious aliment. The error was natural; it was even praiseworthy; it arose from many of the most amiable feelings of our nature, and was to be found in the most estimable and delightful men. But it was an error of the greatest magnitude, it betrayed a total ignorance of the practical working of the human mind, and it has been attended with the most disastrous consequences. Experience, dear bought woful experience, has now proved its futility; and demonstrated that in measures intended to act generally upon society, not less than in those destined for the improvement of the individual, we must equally calculate upon the inherent weakness of our natural depravity, and guard against knowledge becoming the inlet for the admission of evil, not less scrupulously than prepare it for being the channel for the introduction of good.

The reason of this necessity is to be found in the

fact which is announced to us in the earliest works of Revelation, which was coeval with the birth of man, and is evidently destined to continue as long as he exists, viz. the corrupt and wayward tendency of his nature, and the absolute necessity for the most strenuous efforts, to counteract the disposition to evil, which seems to be as natural to him as for the sparks to fly upward. Without entering upon theological argument, without supporting the extreme of Calvinistic Divinity, it is sufficient to mention *a fact*, upon which all who know the human heart, in all ages have been agreed, and without a constant recollection of which all efforts for the improvement of the species will be worse than nugatory. This fact is the rapid and instantaneous propagation of vice, and the extremely slow and tardy progress of virtue—the facility with which the most profligate and corrupting ideas can be diffused, and the tardy progress of all the attempts to counteract their influence. This doctrine is not peculiar to Christianity, it is to be found in the Philosophers, Moralists, and Sages of every age and country in the world; in Xenophon and Plato, in Cicero and Aristotle; in the dreams of the Hindoos and the Enigmas of the Talmud, in the Proverbs of Solomon and the Maxims of Confucius. When the rival Goddesses of Pleasure and Virtue, in the beautiful Grecian Fable, stood before the infant Hercules, the one was clothed in the garb and arrayed in the colour likely to captivate a youthful fancy; but the other was severe and forbidding in aspect, and terrified the beholder by the awful severity of her brow; and the emblems will continue to the end of time to distinguish the Siren, whose bewitching smiles tempt

to the path of perdition, and the sober matron who guards the narrow way, which leads in the end to temporal and eternal happiness.

"The corrupt nature of man," says Archbishop Tillotson, "is a rank soil to which vice takes easily, and wherein it thrives apace. The mind of man hath need to be prepared for piety and virtue; *it must be cultivated to that end, and ordered with great care and pains; but vices are weeds that grow wild and spring up of themselves.* They are in some sort natural to the soil, and therefore they need not be planted or watered; 'tis sufficient if they be neglected and let alone. So that vice having this advantage from our nature, it is no wonder if occasion and temptation easily call it forth. Our corrupt hearts, when they are once set in motion, are like the raging sea, to which we can set no bounds, nor say, 'Hitherto shalt thou come and no farther.' Sin is very cunning and deceitful, and does strangely gain upon men, when once they give way to it. It is of a very bewitching nature, and hath strange arts of address and insinuation. For sin is very teeming and fruitful, and though it hath no blessing annexed to it, yet it does strangely increase and multiply. As there is a connexion of one virtue with another, so vices are linked together, and one sin draws many after it. When the Devil tempts a man to commit any wickedness, he does, as it were, lay a long train of sins, and if the first temptation take, they give fire to another."* If any class of readers feel that these principles are not applicable to themselves, the author congratulates them on their condition, and sincerely hopes it will long con-

* On the Deceitfulness of Sin.—Sermon X.

tinue so: he can only say, that is not the case with himself, nor any class of men, in any climate, rank, or age of the world with whom he is acquainted.

Observe the precautions which the experience of all ages and countries has proved to be necessary for the protection of youth, from the contamination to which they would otherwise be exposed by the corruptions or errors of knowledge. How carefully are the minds of the young preserved from the mass of infidelity, profligacy, and vice, with which the press abounds; how guarded is the selection of authors put into their hands; how great the efforts made to save them from the evident and easy irruption of falsehood, and prepare them by laborious efforts, and the study of the great authors of our own or other countries, for the duties, the trials, and the temptations of the world! Would any one expect that by simply teaching the young to read, and immediately allowing them to devour every thing, good, bad, and indifferent, which came in their way, they would either extend their knowledge, improve their habits, or fortify their minds? Is any thing more certain, than that by such conduct the minds of the great majority of men would be depraved instead of being improved, inflamed instead of being calmed; that they would choose not that which was most useful, but most agreeable; not that which promised ultimate benefit, but that which was attended with immediate amusement; not that which strengthened the understanding, but that which excited the passions? It is the universal experience of this truth, which in all ages and countries has rendered it indispensably necessary to place the education of the young under the

immediate and special control of the ministers of religion, to watch with anxious care over every thing which they received, and, by the most sedulous attention, prevent that rapid and fatal inhaling of vice, to which the extension of knowledge from the inherent propensity to evil would otherwise infallibly lead.

Without the explanation, indeed, of this great and general cause—without taking into consideration the prodigious influence of this new element, which has now for the first time been let loose in human affairs, it is impossible to account for the extraordinary demoralization of the lower orders during the last twenty years, and the extent to which licentiousness and profligacy in that class, now press not only against the barriers of government, but the restraints of religion, the precepts of virtue, and even the ordinary decorum of society. Unhappily, too, and this is a most characteristic circumstance, these symptoms of corruption have become most apparent in the lowest classes of the state. Formerly, the progress of evil was from the higher to the inferior ranks of society; vice began to overflow first in the most elevated regions of the state, among those whom wealth had corrupted, and idleness unnerved, and it spread to the inferior classes in a great degree from the influence or example of their superiors. Now, the case is reversed. The most depraved class of society, beyond all question, at least in the great towns, is the lowest; the corruptions of rank and opulence have been fairly outdone by those of penury and discontent; entering by the gates opened by the schoolmaster, degeneracy has intrenched himself in the dense population of the great towns, from whence as to many centres, the le-

prosy is rapidly overspreading the land. How is this deplorable fact, so opposite to what *à priori* was expected, to be accounted for? Simply in the multitude of inlets which the power of reading and the press have opened into the human mind, when totally unprepared for the trial, and the instantaneous rush which every species of corrupting and disorganizing composition has made to occupy the space thus for the first time laid open, to the general exclusion of the more distasteful habits of real utility. In the general deluge, everything calculated to elevate, purify, or improve human nature, has, among the lower orders in our great cities at least, been overwhelmed; knowledge has given place to fiction; information to abuse; religion to infidelity.

The effect would be exactly the same upon the higher orders, if they were to be exposed without the influence and preparation of previous and *long continued* education, to the action of the same causes, and the sedulous care taken at the great seminaries of education, to impress them with religious truths. If the rich and affluent were taught to read, and instantly turned adrift into the world, and the corruptions of great cities, sent to London, or Paris, or Naples, without any farther preparation, or the influence of any severer habits, the result would be the same, though the process of corruption would be somewhat different. They would not, in all probability, read republican or democratic journals, but they would devour trash not one whit less demoralizing. The profligate and licentious novels of France and Italy, Faublas, Laclos, Janin, and Victor Hugo, not to mention still more infamous productions, would be their instantaneous and

constant food. What protects the higher ranks, and most persons of real education from such an inundation, is the formation of the habits, and the purifying of the taste, during the ten years of school and college education, in the study of the great writers of our own country, and still more of the classical times, and, above all, the constant efforts made to impress them with religious feelings. In the course of these precious years, the grandeur, the heroism, and magnanimity of Greek and Roman thought, is poured into the mind; a taste is formed for the corresponding and equally ennobling writers of our own country, and of the continental states; and before a young man is finally sent into the world, exposed to its temptations, and assailed by its sophisms, he is in general tolerably guarded against the poison lurking in the inferior strata of the press, by the taste and the habits formed in an acquaintance with the greatest works of human intellect. Notwithstanding this, experience shows how many of them are swept away by the torrent; how frequently they turn their knowledge into poison, and their taste into corruption; and if so, is it surprising that so considerable a portion of the lower orders, who never have received such safeguards, and are debarred by their poverty from obtaining it, are carried down the stream, and use the power they have acquired only to promote the worst passions of the human heart?

What, then, it may be fairly asked, is to be done in the present circumstances? Would you stop the education of the poor? Would you bring back the night of ignorance with all its attendant horrors, upon the human race? Is such a design practicable? Is it desirable? *Certainly not.* Nothing is clearer than that

it is impossible to make the human race recede in this particular; and that if it were practicable, it is not desirable. Unquestionably education and the press must work out their own impurities; the fermentation must take place, if the British empire should perish during the process.

But this much appears evident, that public instruction must be aided by a very different safeguard, and antidotes to evil very different provided from the scientific efforts of the educationists. It is neither by Bacon nor Newton, nor the Labourers' Institutes, nor the Penny Magazine, that the tendency of popular education to admit evil and run riot is to be corrected. A phantasmagoria of curious and amusing scientific tracts, or pieces of information, compiled for the diversion of the labouring classes, and drawn rapidly by the periodical press before their eyes, is utterly nugatory as a preventive to evil. It is RELIGION which must stand guardian at the gate: it is the Cherubim, whose flaming sword turns every way, that should guard the entrance. Philosophy and science must be left to philosophers and the learned: the great body of mankind must be reached by that only branch of knowledge, which was delivered to all indiscriminately—the knowledge of the Gospel. We hear little of this from the educationists: it is studiously excluded from the course of study in many seminaries of education and institutions for the spread of information; but, nevertheless, it is the only species of knowledge which is universally intelligible, which is universally useful, which is universally desirable. Nature has destined three or four in every thousand to be philosophers; thirty or forty in the same number to be learned men;

but seven or eight hundred to be virtuous citizens, faithful husbands, kind parents, and good men. She has communicated to a few gifted spirits in every age the power of enlarging the boundaries of knowledge; to a wider, but still narrower circle, the faculty of acquiring and enjoying it; but to all, the means of discharging their moral and religious duties, and passing with as little stain as human frailty will admit through this scene of trial. It is on this basis that every rational and useful system of public instruction must be founded; any other is contrary to the intentions of Nature, at variance with the capacities of mankind, productive in the end of more evil than good.

In the hour of creation God himself said to our first parents, "Of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil *thou shalt not eat;* for the day that thou eatest thereof *thou shalt surely die.*" The expression, "thou shalt surely die," is wrong translated; it means, "thou shalt become liable to death," and such, accordingly, was the fact. These words have been to the Jews a stumblingblock, to the Greeks foolishness; but, six thousand years after they were spoken, the experience of mankind is beginning to prove their truth and develope their import. They mean, apparently, that man is unable of himself to withstand the choice of good and evil; that, unaided, he will in general choose the latter, because it is the most alluring; and that, from tasting of the fruit of knowledge, and being exposed to the temptations which it involves, nations, not less than individuals, will imbibe the seeds of mortality.

Is, then, knowledge to be for ever kept from the people? must we rest in the melancholy conclusion,

that the light of science is too strong for the human mind, and that ignorance is the only passport to social happiness? No! there is a remedy existing, which was in full operation fifteen hundred years before the means of general information by means of the press were communicated to mankind. The Christian religion has provided an antidote to the poison which lurks in the luscious fruit of the tree of knowledge; and which, indispensably necessary to all ranks, is most of all to those who receive only the rudiments of education, and from their humble station in life can never procure more. She has established a Guardian, who is able to give to mankind the blessings of information, and keep from them the corruptions with which it is attended. It is by *separating these things* that the disasters which all deplore have been brought upon society in the British islands: it is by reuniting them alone that they can be averted. But if we pursue our headstrong course, and disregard the admonitions of experience, not less than the dictates of religion, let us not deceive ourselves, we "SHALL SURELY DIE;" and the ruins of the British Empire, the most glorious monument of human civilisation that ever existed, will attest to the latest generation the truths unfolded in the book of Genesis, and the consequence of the rejection of the Elixir of Life provided in the New Testament.

CHAPTER XV.

ON COLONIZATION AND THE RECIPROCITY SYSTEM.

ARGUMENT.

Marvellous growth of the British Colonial Empire—General decline of our exports to Europe during the last forty years—And progressive increase of foreign over British shipping in conducting our trade during that period—Causes to which this has been owing—Different principles of the Colonial and Reciprocity Systems—They cannot coexist in the same state—Effect of the Reciprocity System on our foreign shipping with the countries with whom these treaties have been concluded—Effects on the progress of our trade with the same countries—Trade with the countries with whom we have concluded no Reciprocity treaties—General result of the progress of our trade with foreign nations, and our colonies or their descendants—Fundamental errors of the Reciprocity System—It strives to resist an obvious and important law of Nature—And was founded on an apparent and fallacious, not real reciprocity—Principle on which the commercial hostility of foreign nations to us is founded—Signal error in supposing that the increase of our exports to any quarter will counterbalance these disadvantages—Causes which have counterbalanced the decay of our exports to, and shipping with the European states—Astonishing growth of our colonial empire—Progress of our trade with Canada—And Australia—And the East Indies—Wonderful contrast between that and our trade with the old states of Europe—Magnitude of our exports to the colonies per head of their inhabitants, compared with that to the states of the old world—Causes of this difference—Incredible benefit which the increase of our colonial empire would bring to the parent state—In relieving our population, *creating* a market for our manufactures, and increasing our navy—Marked decline in the British Navy at this time, compared with what it was in 1792—Effect of Colonies in obviating this evil—Singular passage of Gibbon on New Zealand—Magnificent prospects of British Colonization—And their apparent connection with ancient Prophecy.

ON the 20th October 1805, the conqueror of continental Europe stood on the heights of Ulm, to behold the captive army of Germany defile before him. While every head around him swam with the giddy

intoxication of the spectacle—while every eye in the vanquished thousands who crowded past, was turned with involuntary homage towards the hero who had filled the world with his renown,—the steady mind of Napoleon regarded only the future; and, discerning through the blaze of present glory, the shadow of coming events, he said to those around him—"Gentlemen, this is all well; but I want greater things than these; I want 'ships, colonies, and commerce.'" On the day after these memorable words were spoken —on the 21st October 1805—the combined fleets of France and Spain were destroyed on the waves of Trafalgar by the arm of Nelson, and a few dismasted hulls, riddled with shot, alone remained, of the vast armament which had so recently threatened the British empire, to carry the tale of woe to the vanquished, and "ships, colonies, and commerce" had irrevocably passed into the hands of their enemies. We now see the fruits of that mighty victory; we behold the British race peopling alike the Western and the Southern Hemispheres, and can already anticipate the time when two hundred millions of men on the shores of the Atlantic, and in the isles of the Pacific, will be speaking our language, reading our authors, glorying in our descent. Who is there that does not see, in these marvellous events, the finger of Providence, or can avoid the conclusion, that the British race is indeed the chosen instrument for mighty things, and that to it is given to spread the blessings of civilisation and the light of religion as far as the waters of the ocean extend?

When such has been the evident preparation made for the British Colonial Empire, and when it is

fitted, as every one now perceives, and as will be abundantly evident in the sequel of this chapter, to alleviate all the evils under which the parent state now labours, and elevate the power and prosperity of England to a degree of grandeur which it has never yet attained, it may well be deemed surprising how any difference of opinion at all should exist in the empire on the subject, and how all classes do not co-operate in promoting emigration as the obvious and certain remedy for all our distresses, as well as the means of establishing the British race in every quarter of the globe. This is the more inexplicable when it is recollected that emigration and the establishment of colonies were the constant expedient adopted in all the free states of antiquity, at once to drain off superfluous numbers, alleviate formidable discontent, and establish durable allies beyond their own limits; and that the strength of the Roman empire, as well as the steady increase of its power, arose from the colonies which the wisdom of its government had fixed round the shores of the Mediterranean. The policy of Great Britain itself also was for a century and a-half founded on the same principles; it was to extend or uphold its colonial empire that the greatest wars of the eighteenth century were undertaken; and the whole system of its commercial legislation was rested on the desire to establish growing markets for its produce in distant hemispheres, and maintain inviolate the connection with them by means of a powerful navy, to which the benefits of that intercourse were exclusively confined. It is probable that the same system would have continued to direct our counsels to the present time, and our colonial possessions in consequence have now been beyond

the reach of danger, were it not for the influence of a different set of principles, which have for a considerable period been powerfully advocated by the ablest of our statesmen, and for nearly twenty years mainly directed the policy of our Government. These principles have led to the RECIPROCITY SYSTEM, and its importance is such that they require a particular examination.

The colonial system, so far as the British empire is concerned, commenced in the days of Queen Elizabeth; but its first considerable developement was during the troubled times, and under the impulse of the vehement democratic spirit of the Great Rebellion. The Puritans who sought refuge from the persecution of Charles I. laid the foundation of the American States, and they have imprinted their spirit on their descendants to the present hour; and the navigation laws designed to protect our shipping interests, the only bond of union with these distant possessions, were the work of the Long Parliament and the Protector Cromwell. The reciprocity system, again, took its rise amidst the liberal ideas, enlarged philanthropy, and visions of perfectibility which arose in this country after the establishment of apparently unbounded maritime dominion by the glorious termination of the French Revolutionary War. The first system, which endured for 170 years, reared up the greatest, the most extensive, and the most powerful maritime and colonial empire that ever existed on the face of the earth. The last has been in operation only for seventeen years, and it has already not only brought imminent danger upon the extremities of our colonial dominion, but weakened to an alarming de-

gree the maritime resources by which the authority of the parent state is to be supported and maintained.

The colonial system is founded upon the principle, that our own industry, whether at home or abroad, is to obtain a decided preference over that of other nations; and that in the benefits arising from the mutual interchange of productions from distant parts of our own empire with each other, we shall find a sufficient compensation for the commercial rivalry or jealous hostility of other states. The reciprocity system is founded on the principle, that the great thing to be considered is, where the commodities which we require can be purchased cheapest; that if they can be got at a lower rate from other states than our own transmarine possessions, no hesitation whatever should be felt in preferring the cheap merchant in foreign states; and that there is in reality no danger in such a proceeding, inasmuch as the principle common to all nations of buying wherever they can cheapest, and selling dearest, will necessarily lead all states to the great commercial emporium of the world, if no undue restrictions are imposed upon its foreign trade; and that foreign hostility or jealousy need not be apprehended as long as we can attract the ships of all nations to our harbours by the durable bond of their common interests. It will be considered in the sequel which of these two systems is the better founded. At present the material point to observe is, that the policy of the state must, in the main, be founded on the preference given to our own people, or the free admission of strangers; that it is impossible to reconcile both; for no great colonial empire will continue its allegiance to the parent state, unless, in

return for their subjection to the rule of a distant power, its members receive substantial advantages which would be lost by its overthrow.

The vital point which separates these two systems is, whether the ruling power in the dominant state be the *producers* or the *consumers*. The producers, whether of grain, of butcher-meat, of manufactures, or of shipping, strenuously maintain that the great object of Government should be to give encouragement to the industry of its own people, and prevent the rivalry or competition of foreign states from encroaching upon or injuring its domestic farmers and manufacturers. Under this system, and by these ideas, the commercial policy of the country has been conducted for 170 years before 1820. The object of legislation in all its branches was to secure to its own subjects the benefit of their own trade and manufactures and consumption, and to shut out as much as possible the competition of foreign states. As it was evident, however, that the inhabitants of the British islands, taken by themselves, could not keep pace with the necessity for a vent arising from the extension of our manufactures, it became a leading object with Government to plant colonies in many different parts of the world, and to bend all the national efforts towards the increase of that colonial empire, and the conquest of those similar establishments of our enemies which might interfere with their progress. The efforts of the British Cabinet during all the wars of the last century were directed to enlarge and protect our colonial empire. Towards this object the principal part, both of the naval and military resources of the nation, were constantly directed, and for this end continental operations were almost uniformly starved

and neglected. Lord Chatham successfully prosecuted this system through all the glories of the Seven Years' War; Lord North strove, under darker auspices, to prevent it from being subverted during the disastrous contest against American independence; and Mr Pitt re-asserted the same principles during the Revolutionary contest, and reared up the greatest colonial empire that was ever witnessed upon earth.

To cement and secure this immense dominion, two principles were early adopted and steadily acted upon by the British Government. The first of these was to maintain, by the utmost exertions of the national resources, a great and powerful navy, capable at all times of striking terror into our enemies, and affording a permanent and effectual protection to the most distant possessions of our colonial empire. Being well aware that this indispensable object could not be gained without the greatest possible attention to the support of our maritime power, they not only at all times devoted a large portion of the public resources to the maintenance and increase of the royal navy, but, by a steady system of policy, endeavoured to give our own seamen an advantage over those of foreign nations in the supply of the home market. It was on this principle that the celebrated Navigation Laws of England were founded, the leading objects of which were to secure to our own ships and seamen exclusively the trade with our colonies, and between our colonies and foreign states, and to give greater advantages to our own sailors than those of other nations enjoyed, by imposing a heavier duty on goods brought in foreign vessels than in those which were built in our own harbours and navigated by our own seamen.

And also, in many instances, to allow smaller drawbacks upon articles exported in foreign than those exported in British ships. Whatever objections may be stated on theory to this system, there can be no question that experience had demonstrated its practical expedience, as it had raised the British naval and colonial powers in no very long period, from inconsiderable beginnings, to an unparalleled state of grandeur and power, and laid the foundation for the inevitable spread of the British race and language through every quarter of the habitable globe.

The reciprocity system is founded upon principles diametrically the reverse of these. The principle on which it rests is, that, however advantageous such a restrictive system might have been when other nations chose to submit to it, it necessarily became detrimental as soon as foreign states resolved to assert their independence, and threatened us with measures of retaliation; and that the moment the resolution to adopt such measures was seriously entertained and acted upon by them, there was no alternative but to embrace a genuine fair reciprocity system, or to submit to see ourselves excluded from the commerce of the greater part of the civilized world.

Mr Porter,* in his late valuable statistical publication, thus sums up the effect of the Reciprocity Acts (4 Geo. IV. c. 77, and 5 Geo. IV. c. 1). "These acts authorized his Majesty, by Order in Council, to permit the importation and exportation of goods in foreign vessels, on payment of the same duties as were chargeable when imported in British vessels, in favour of all such countries as should not levy discriminating duties upon

* Porter's Progress of the Nation, ii. p. 162.

goods imported into those countries in British vessels; and further, to levy upon the vessels of such countries, when frequenting British ports, the same tonnage-duties as are chargeable on British vessels. A power was, on the other hand, given to the Crown by these Acts of Parliament, to impose additional duties upon goods and shipping against any countries which should levy higher duties in the case of the employment of British vessels in the trade with those countries. The concessions thus made met with only a feeble opposition, the principal act having passed the Commons by a majority of 5 to 1.*

In order to illustrate the magnitude of the change thus made, we shall subjoin the following statement, by the same author, of the principles of the restrictive system, so far as the Navigation Laws were concerned, and the state necessity which it was conceived rendered it requisite to abandon them:—

"The part of our restrictive system which was

* "Under the authority of these Acts of Parliament, reciprocity treaties have been concluded with the following countries, viz.:—

	Concluded in
Prussia,	1824
Hanover,	1824
Denmark,	1824
Oldenburg,	1824
Mecklenburg,	1825
Bremen,	1825
Hamburg,	1825
Lubeck,	1825
States of Rio de la Plata,	1825
Colombia,	1825
France,	1826
Sweden and Norway,	1826
Mexico,	1826
Brazil,	1827
Austria,	1829"

—Porter's Progress of the Nation, ii. p. 163.

viewed with the greatest favour among all classes, was embodied in the measure generally known under the name of the Navigation Act. The foundation of this act was laid during the Protectorate, and the system was perfected by the 12th Charles II. chap. 18. This act provided that no merchandise of either Asia, Africa, or America should be imported into Great Britain in any but English built ships, navigated by an English commander, and having at least three-fourths of their crew English. Besides this exclusive right imparted to British shipping, discriminating duties were imposed, so that goods which might still be imported in foreign ships from Europe, were in that case more highly taxed than if imported under the English flag. The system here described continued to be steadily and pertinaciously maintained during more than 160 years, and was looked upon as a monument of wisdom and prudence, to which was mainly attributable the degree of commercial greatness to which we had attained." "The earliest deviation from the Navigation Act that was sanctioned by Parliament, arose out of the treaty with the United States of America in 1815. The States, soon after the establishment of their independence, had passed a navigation law in favour of their shipping, similar in all its main provisions to the English law; and it affords an instructive lesson, that the practical carrying out of this restrictive system to its fullest extent by the two nations was found to be so unproductive of all good effect as to call for its abandonment. By this treaty the ships of the two countries were placed reciprocally upon the same footing in the ports of England and the United States, and all discriminat-

ing duties chargeable upon the goods which they conveyed were mutually repealed. It adds greatly to the value of this concession, that it was made by no disciple of free-trade doctrines, but was forced by the very consequences of the system itself, from a Government opposed to all change in the direction of relaxation. From that moment it was easy to foretell the abandonment of all the most effective parts of our long-cherished system of protection, since every country that desired to remove the disadvantages under which we had placed its shipping, had it thenceforward in its power, by adopting our plans in the spirit of retaliation, to compel us to a relaxation of our code. It is worthy of remark, that amidst all the complaints that have been made by British shipowners of the abandonment of their interests by their Government, it has never been attempted to question the propriety of the American treaty, nor to complain of its results."*

It remains to inquire how far experience, the great test of truth, has confirmed these principles, or justified the sanguine anticipations which were formed by their authors of a vast consequent extension of our trade with continental Europe, coupled with no diminution of our shipping with any part of the world.

Let us first inquire what has been the effect of the reciprocity system upon the *maritime* strength and resources of the empire, and then examine whether or not these effects have been counterbalanced by the increase of foreign trade and commerce with the countries with whom reciprocity treaties have been concluded.

One of Mr Porter's Tables exhibits the growth of our foreign trade and shipping for every year from

* Porter's Progress of the Nation, ii. 159, 160.

1801 till the close of 1822, being the period when the change of policy was introduced, and from this it appears that during the period of twenty-two years, when the old system was in operation, the progress of *our own shipping* had been *rapid* beyond all precedent in this or any other state, the *foreign* shipping employed in conducting our trade had been *altogether stationary*, or rather declining. During that period the British ships and tonnage had about doubled, while the foreign ships and tonnage had *declined*, viz. from 5497 ships and 780,000 tons, to 4069 ships and 582,000 tons.

Another table again shows the progress of British and foreign shipping from the year 1823, when the reciprocity system came into operation, to the close of 1836, and it shows that during the twelve years that the present reciprocity system has continued, the British shipping has increased only from 11,733 vessels and 1,797,000 tons to 14,347 vessels and 2,500,000 tons, while the foreign shipping outwards has increased from 563,000 to 1,035,000 tons. It is clear to demonstration, therefore, that under the reciprocity system, notwithstanding, as we shall immediately see, the prodigious growth of our colonial trade during the same period, the relative proportion of foreign and British shipping employed in carrying on our trade has been totally changed; that the former has nearly doubled, while the latter has only augmented hardly more than a third; that of the 3,500,000 tons now employed in conducting British trade, no less than 1,000,000 belong to foreigners; and that if the same relative proportion shall continue between them for twelve years longer, the quantity of foreign shipping employed in conducting our own

trade will be *equal to that of the whole British empire*; in other words, we shall have nursed up in our own harbours, a foreign maritime force equal to our own.*

In order still farther to illustrate this important point of the stationary condition of the British commercial navy, we refer to two tables, showing the number of ships belonging to the United Kingdom and its dependencies, in Europe and our colonies, from 1803 down to the commencement of the Reciprocity System in 1822, and from that period down to the present time. From these tables, which every intelligent reader must see to be of incalculable importance, three things are evident.†

1. That, under the navigation law system, the British shipping in Europe *increased*, in twenty years, from 18,000 to 21,000 ships; that is, by a sixth.

2. That, under the Reciprocity System, the British ships *declined*, in twelve years, from 21,042 to 20,388, being nearly a tenth.

3. That the loss thus experienced in the Reciprocity System, in Europe, has been counterbalanced, and more than counterbalanced, by the extraordinary growth in our colonial trade, during the same period, to which the Reciprocity System did not apply, as it was exclusively reserved, on the principle of the navigation laws, to ourselves, the vessels engaged in that trade having increased, during these twelve years only, from 4375 to 6600, and their tonnage from 800,313 to 1,351,017. It is not difficult, in these circumstances, to see in what quarter the real strength and future hopes of the British empire are to be found.

The same result is shown by another table exhibiting the proportions in which the British and foreign seamen are employed in the trade with Prussia, Den-

* Tables A and B, App. to this Chapter. † Tables C and D, Ibid.

mark, France, Sweden, and Norway, with whom reciprocity treaties have been concluded.

It distinctly appears that, under the reciprocity system, the trade with the Baltic States, Prussia, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark has, for the most part, fallen into the hands of foreigners. And, as an illustration of the way in which the foreign shipping has grown up, so as to overshadow the British, we refer to another table, showing the progress of the trade of these countries, from 1822 to 1839, by which the relative progress of the British and foreign trade with those countries where reciprocity treaties have been concluded is clearly demonstrated, and which is calculated to shake the nerves of even the most ardent supporters of the reciprocity system. Under the operation of the reciprocity system, the British ships employed in the trade with Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Prussia have declined an EIGHTH; and the foreign shipping employed in the trade between these countries and Great Britain has TRIPLED:*

And thus much for the reciprocity system on the

				1822. Tonnage.	1839. Tonnage.
British ships declined with					
Prussia	from 539 ships	to 721	-	102,847 to	111,470
Denmark,	57 ships	to 49	-	7,096 to	5,536
Norway,	168 ships	to 21	-	13,377 to	2,582
Sweden,	123 ships	to 49	.	20,799 to	8,359
		Total,		L. 144,119 to	127,947
Prussian ships, with Great Britain, increased from	258 ships	to 1,283	.	58,270 to	229,208
Danish,	44 ships	to 1,531	.	3,910 to	106,690
Norwegian,	558 ships	to 868	.	87,974 to	109,228
Swedish,	71 ships	to 272	.	13,692 to	49,270
		Total,		L. 163,846 to	494,396

—Parliamentary Return, 27th May 1840.

* Appendix E.

interests of our maritime force in our intercourse with the Baltic trade.

There is one country with whom, under the reciprocity system, commenced in 1816, that system has been attended with remarkable advantages, and that is the United States of North America. The example of the effect of this system with that country is frequently referred to, by the reciprocity advocates, as the strongest proof of the justice of their principles; but, in reality, it is the strongest confirmation of those which have now been adduced.

The Table in the Appendix* exhibits the progress of foreign trade between great Britain and the United States, both in British and American bottoms, from the year 1822 to 1839; and from that table it appears that the British tonnage in conducting the trade with that country has increased, between 1822 and 1839, from 138 ships to 195; while the American has increased only from 500 to 558. And the British tonnage swelled from 37,385 to 92,482, while the American tonnage has increased from 156,054 to 282,005.

This result, however, so far from being a proof that the reciprocity system, in its application to the trade of Great Britain with the old states of the world, is founded on just principles, demonstrates diametrically the reverse. The reciprocity system has proved of advantage to the British shipping in the intercourse with America, because labour and all the articles employed in the building of ships are so much dearer in America than in Great Britain, that the British shipowners can carry on the trade at a cheaper rate than the American, and, therefore, under an equal system of duties, the British shipping has gained the advan-

* Appendix F.

tage. There cannot be a doubt of the expediency of that system in its application to countries where ship-building and navigation are more expensive than they are in this, and, therefore, Mr Huskisson acted perfectly wisely in concluding a treaty with America on such terms. But the real point of doubt is, not whether such a system is expedient with countries where ship-building is *dearer*, but whether it is expedient with countries where ship-building is *cheaper* than in Great Britain. And, with reference to that point it is clear, that the fact that the reciprocity system has worked to the prejudice of America, which builds ships dearer than England, is founded exactly upon the same principle, in proving that it is prejudicial to England, in her intercourse with the Baltic powers, where it is cheaper.

The following table demonstrates that in sixteen years, from 1820 to 1836, the reciprocity system has proved highly prejudicial to British shipping, and highly advantageous to foreign, in conducting the British commerce; and that if the same system is continued for sixteen years longer, it will, in spite of all the prodigious increase in the British trade with our colonial possessions, render the foreign shipping superior to the British even in conducting our own trade.*

* Centesimal Proportions of British and Foreign Tonnage employed in the Import and Export Trades respectively of the United Kingdom in each year, from 1820 to 1836.

	ENTERED INWARDS.		CLEARED OUTWARDS.	
Years.	British.	Foreign.	British.	Foreign.
1820,	78.84	21.16	78.15	21.85
1821,	80.14	19.86	79.50	20.50
1822,	78.00	22.00	77.08	22.92
1823,	74.21	25.09	73.29	26.71
1824,	70.29	29.71	68.94	31.06
1825,	69.12	30.88	66.45	33.55
1826,	73.75	26.25	71.50	28.50

Thus it appears, that while in 1820 the British tonnage employed in carrying on the British trade was four times the foreign, in 1836 it bore to it only the proportion of 70 to 30, or about $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 1.

The next point for consideration is, whether the great and obvious decline of British shipping interests since the introduction of the new system has been counterbalanced by an increase in our exports to, and commercial intercourse with, the countries with whom the reciprocity treaties have been concluded.

Keeping in view that the reciprocity treaties hitherto concluded have been with Prussia, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, France, America, Brazil, and Columbia, we refer to the table exhibiting the progress of the exports to these countries from 1827 to 1836.

This table is in the highest degree instructive. It shows that the export trade to Prussia, for the increase of which Mr Huskisson, in 1823, was content to repeal the navigation laws of England, the bulwark of our national strength, has *declined* from L. 274,448 in 1822, to L. 155,223 in 1838, that with Denmark has *advanced* only from L. 129,235 to L.181,404; while that of Germany has remained *perfectly stationary* through the whole period. The trade

Table Continued.

Years.	ENTERED INWARDS. British.	Foreign.	CLEARED OUTWARDS. British.	Foreign.
1827,	73.51	26.49	71.08	28.92
1828,	76.74	23.26	76.74	23.26
1829,	75.46	24.54	73.85	26.15
1830,	74.18	25.82	73.48	26.52
1831,	73.02	26.98	71.97	28 03
1832,	77.35	22.65	77.39	22.61
1833,	74.13	25.87	74.73	25.27
1834,	73.37	26.63	72.91	27.09
1835,	73.85	26.15	72.77	27.23
1836,	71.41	28.59	70.97	29.03

—Porter's Progress of the Nation, ii. 188.

with France is the only one which has increased, which it has done from L. 437,009 in 1822, to L. 2,314,141 in 1838, but that is the result entirely of the equalization of the duties on wine; and accordingly that of Portugal has fallen off in nearly a similar proportion; while the trade with the United States of America, under the reciprocity system, has, upon the whole, remained nearly stationary, or *rather declined.** The great exports of 1835 and 1836 to that country were fictitious, and the result of the joint-stock mania there, during these years, which led to the terrible commercial crisis of 1837, when the exports of Great Britain to the United States sunk to L. 3,500,000.

But what is still more curious, it appears from another table that the trade with the countries with whom we have concluded *no* reciprocity treaties, but with whom we still deal on the old restrictive system, and that with our own colonies, which is entirely and rigidly confined to ourselves, has increased *much faster* than that with the reciprocity countries; and that in truth it is the vast increase of our trade with those countries, who are out of the reprocity pale, which has compensated all the evils arising even to commerce itself, from the adoption of that system with the other states. From this table it is manifest, that our trade with distant quarters of the world with whom we have *no* reciprocity treaties, such as Spain, Italy, Turkey; and our own colonies, as Australia, the Canadas, the East Indies, &c., has *doubled*, and in some instances *tripled*, during the very years that our trade with the countries with whom we had concluded re-

* British Exports to Portugal,

1821, -	L. 2,053,343	1837, -	L. 1,183,015
1822, -	1,890,130	1838, -	1,240,119

—Parliamentary Paper, 27th May 1840.

ciprocity treaties was stationary, or had advanced but a mere trifle, affording thus a striking contrast to the miserable and languid state of our trade with the Baltic powers, to preserve or increase which we sacrificed the old and powerful bulwark of our navigation laws.*

From the Parliamentary returns it appears also that our trade both with northern and southern Europe has declined under the influence of the reciprocity system; and is considerably less in the five years preceding 1836 than it was in the five years preceding 1819. So clear is this decrease in our foreign trade to Europe, during the working of the reciprocity system, that Mr Porter, although a strenuous advocate for its principles, makes the following candid admission as to the falling off of our foreign trade, from the commencement of the present century, down to this time, with the exception of the two years of inordinate commercial activity of 1835 and 1836.

"If the following table is taken in this way, as the test of the progress of our foreign trade, during the present century, it will be seen that little or none has been made—that, in fact, if we except the last two years (1835 and 1836), the amount of our foreign trade has not been equal to that which was carried on during some of the years when we were at war with nearly all Europe, nor to that of the first five

* Total Exports to Non-Reciprocity Countries, British Colonies, and Reciprocity Countries.

Years.	Non.-Rec. Countries.	Colonies.	Rec. Countries.
1821,	L. 8,242,561	L. 11,053,623	L. 17,359,118
1822,	8,355,854	10,526,156	18,084,013
1823,	9,192,638	10,215,747	15,947,991
1836,	14,300,435	14,184,119	24,809,425
1837,	12,714,947	12,575,525	16,596,773
1838,	15,101,765	13,689,297	21,270,705

years of peace that followed. The average annual exports of British produce and manufactures in the decennary period from 1801 to 1810 amounted to L.40,737,970. In the next ten years, from 1811 to 1820, the annual average was L. 41,454,461; from 1821 to 1830 the annual average *fell* to L.36,597,623. Since that time the amount has been progressively advancing, and, in 1836, exceeded by L.1,765,543 the amount in 1815, the first year of the peace, which, with the exception of 1836, was the greatest year of export trade, judging from the value of the shipments, that this country has ever seen." *

"That part of our commerce which, being carried on with the rich and civilized inhabitants of European nations, should present the greatest field for extension, will be seen to have fallen off under this aspect in a remarkable degree. The average annual exports to the whole of Europe *were less in value by nearly twenty per cent. in the five years from* 1832 *to* 1836, *than they were in the five years that followed the close of the war*, and it affords strong evidence of the unsatisfactory footing upon which our trading regulations with Europe are established; that our exports to the United States of America, which, with their population of only twelve millions, are removed to a distance from us of 3000 miles across the Atlantic, have amounted to *more* than one-half of the value of our shipments to *the whole of Europe*, with a population *fifteen times as great* as that of the United States of America, and with an abundance of productions suited to our wants, which they are naturally desirous of exchanging for the products of our mines and looms." †

* Porter, ii. p. 100 † Ibid. ii. p. 101.

Thus it distinctly appears, both from the Parliamentary Returns and the admissions of the most able and well-informed advocates for the reciprocity system, that the anticipated and promised extension of our foreign trade, from the adoption of that system, has not taken place; that so far from it, our trade has rapidly and signally declined, during the last five-and-twenty years, with the old states of Europe, fifteen of which have been spent under the reciprocity system; and, therefore, that we have gratuitously inflicted a severe wound upon our own maritime interests, without having purchased thereby any equivalent advantage, either for our foreign trade or our home manufactures.

Nevertheless, it is certain that our foreign trade and intercourse with all the world has upon *the whole* increased, and in many quarters most rapidly, during the last twenty years.

Where, then, it may be asked, have the British merchants found a compensation, as they unquestionably must have done, for the decline of their trade with the old states of Europe? The answer to this is to be found in the prodigious simultaneous increase of our *colonial trade*, and with the rude and comparatively uncivilized portions of the earth. It is there that the real strength of Great Britain is to be found. It is there that an antidote has been silently prepared for all the errors of our modern commercial policy; and it is by confounding the growth of our distant colonies, and the immense trade which has sprung up from their influence, with the effects of the Reciprocity System in our intercourse with the European states, that its advocates have been able to conceal from the world the real tendency of their system. The number of

ships built for the United Kingdom and its possessions in Europe, is just *about the same* as it was twenty-five years ago; while that for the trade to the colonies has, during the same period, nearly *quadrupled*.

An examination of the quarters of the world in which our trade has increased, demonstrates clearly that it is in our intercourse with our own colonies, that the compensation for the decline of our trade with Europe itself has been found.

From Mr Porter's Tables it appears, that from 1802 to 1835, the trade of Great Britain with Europe has *declined* from 65 per cent. to 48 per cent. With the British colonies in America, has *increased* from 18 per cent. to 26 per cent. With the United States of America, has *increased* from 6 per cent. to 9 per cent. And that with India has *increased* from $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. to 5 per cent.

It is perfectly clear, therefore, that the Reciprocity System has had no tendency to check the serious decay which is going forward in our European trade, while the restrictive system, which is still applied with undiminished force to our colonies, at least in their intercourse with the parent state, has had as little effect in checking the rapid and astonishing growth, both of our shipping and foreign trade, with those distant parts of the empire. Nothing but adherence to theory, and insensibility to facts, can enable any person to resist the conclusion, that it is in our intercourse with our colonies, that the real sinews of British strength are to be found; that the Reciprocity System is wholly unable to preserve our European trade from decay, while it is prejudicial to our shipping interests employed in commerce with these countries; and therefore that our true policy is to be found in

cultivating, with the most assiduous care, our colonial dependencies, in our intercourse with which, we employ only our own shipping; and in our commercial dealings with which we experience the benefit of a trade, sharing in the rapid extension and unchecked growth of these vigorous offshoots of the empire.

And, in truth, such has been the rapidity of increase in the British colonies, that it has already more than counterbalanced this rapid decline in our commercial navy employed in our intercourse with the states of Europe, and the stationary or declining condition of our exports to, and imports from, these independent states.

From the tables quoted in the note, it appears, that, from 1827 to 1839, our exports to the Canadas have increased from less than one to nearly three millions; while, during the same period, our tonnage employed in conducting the trade with them has increased from 359,000 to 700,000 tons, independent of 609,000 employed in those colonies themselves; that is to say, it has *doubled* in twelve years.* This rate of

* Trade with North American Possessions.

Years.	Exports. Official value.	Imports. Official value.	Tonnage British.
1827,	L. 950,490	L. 468,766	359,793
1828,	1,248,288	466,065	400,841
1829,	1,117,422	569,452	431,901
1830,	1,570,020	682,202	452,397
1831,	1,922,089	902,915	480,236
1832,	2,078,949	795,652	504,211
1833,	2,100,211	756,466	512,820
1834,	1,339,629	618,598	524,606
1835,	2,127,531	629,051	631,345
1836,	2,739,507	633,575	620,722
1837,†	2,141,035		631,427
1838,	1,992,459		665,354
1839,			709,846

Porter's Parl. Tables i. 49, ii. 51, vii. 43, and Parl. Papers, 17th May 1840.

† Canada Rebellion.

increase, both in tonnage and amount of exports, would probably be unparalleled in the history of the world, if it were not equalled, or rather greatly exceeded, by the growth of our commerce and shipping with the Australian colonies during the same period; the exports to which during the same twelve years have increased from L. 339,000 to L. 1,336,000; while the tonnage has increased from 5439 tons to 90,127; that is to say, the former has QUADRUPLED, the latter increased FOURTEEN FOLD, in the short space of twelve years. It may safely be affirmed, that this rate of increase is unparalleled in any other age or quarter of the globe. *

The West Indies have been the subject of extraordinary legislative changes during the ten years from 1827 to 1837; for during that period the state of society in those splendid possessions was totally changed, and the perilous experiment made of inducing for it, in 1834, an apprenticeship for five years, which it was readily foreseen, as has since turned

* Table showing the Exports to, Imports from, and Tonnage with the Australian Colonies, from 1827 to 1837.

Years.	Exports. Declared value.	Tonnage.
1827,	L. 339,958	5,439
1828,	443,839	6,707
1829,	310,681	8,970
1830,	314,677	8,668
1831,	398,871	11,875
1832,	466,238	13,231
1833,	558,372	14,679
1834,	716,014	17,234
1835,	696,345	16,900
1836,	835,637	19,195
1837,	921,568	47,240
1837,	1,336,662	78,362
1839,		90,127

Porter's Parl. Tables, vii. 43, and Parl. Paper, 27th May 1840.

out, was speedily converted into compulsory freedom: yet even there the inherent vigour of colonial enterprise has sustained the exports to, and shipping of those islands, undiminished, to a surprising degree, till absolute freedom was granted through these perilous years; while in the East Indies, notwithstanding the unjust burdens which still oppress the industry of those magnificent possessions, arising from the mercantile jealousy or fiscal cupidity of the ruling state, a similar sustained amount of British exports and shipping may be traced through the same period.* And of the prodigious magnitude of the trade which Great Britain now carries on with her colonies and descendants in different parts of the globe, and its infinite superiority, with a view to future policy, over the whole commercial intercourse which she maintains with independent nations, decisive evidence is to be found in the subjoined table, which exhibits the comparative value of the two in the year 1836.† It

* Table showing the Exports from the United Kingdom to, and Shipping with the East and West Indies, from 1827 to 1839.

	West Indies.		East Indies and Ceylon.	
	Exports.	Tons.	Exports.	Tons.
Years.	Declared value.		Declared value.	
1827,	L.3,662,012	243,721	L.3,583,222	59,734
1828,	4,256,582	272,800	3,289,704	63,131
1829,	3,659,218	263,388	3,612,089	71,911
1830,	3,895,530	253,872	2,838,448	65,498
1831;	3,377,412	349,679	2,581,949	63,566
1832;	3,514,779	229,117	2,439,808	72,895
1833,	3,495,301	248,378	2,597,589	76,820
1834,	2,578,569	246,605	2,680,024	75,461
1835,	3,192,692	235,179	3,187,540	89,449
1836,	4,285,829	237,922	3,786,453	97,034
1837,	3,612,975	226,468	3,456,745	119,069
1838,	3,394,208	235,495	3,768,747	106,064
1839,		196,715		138,486

Porter's Parl. Tables, vii. 108, and vii. 43, and Parl. Pap. May 27, 1840.

† Table exhibiting the comparative value of the trade carried on

thus appears, that in that year, our commercial intercourse with our colonies and descendants had nearly equalled that of all the rest of the world put together; and so rapid has since been the growth of the former compared with the stationary condition of the latter, that when the returns of 1840 come to be published, it will probably be found that they are equal to one another.

But extraordinary as this result is, when it is recollected that the British colonial empire can hardly be said to be yet the growth of a century, it becomes infinitely more surprising and important when the *future* progress of these colonies, and their reaction upon the industry and prosperity of the parent state are taken into consideration. Since the year 1820, the tonnage employed in the trade with the Australian

by the United Kingdom with its colonies and descendants, and all the rest of the world, in 1836.

Total declared value of Exports of British and Irish produce and manufactures in 1836, and tonnage in 1839,	L. 53,368,572	3,101,650
EXPORTS TO BRITISH COLONIES AND DESCENDANTS.		TONNAGE.
Jersey, Guernsey, &c.	L. 318,609	153,565
United States of America,	12,425,605	92,482
British West Indies,	3,187,540	196,715
British North American Colonies,	2,732,291	709,846
East Indies and Ceylon,	4,285,829	138,486
Australian Colonies and New Zealand,	835,637	93,945
Gibraltar,	756,411	25,920
Malta,	143,015	5,667
Ionian Islands,	109,123	8,215
Cape of Good Hope and Africa,	482,315	44,203
St Helena,	11,041	452
Mauritius,	260,855	25,523
Whale Fisheries,		21,361
Total British Colonies and descendants,	L. 25,548,271	1,443,499
All the rest of the world,	L. 27,820,301	1,658,151
	L. 53,368,572	3,101,650

—Porter's Parl. Tables, vii. 168, and Parl. Paper, 27th May 1840.

colonies has increased from 1291 to 90,127 in 1839! And in the same period the exports to those colonies have swelled from L.124,232 to L.1,336,000. The former in nineteen years has increased nearly eighty, the latter twelve fold. If the same rate of progress should go on for the next seventeen years, the shipping employed in that branch of colonial trade alone will exceed 1,600,000 tons, and the exports have risen to above L. 12,000,000 Sterling!

Startling and extravagant as these results will probably appear to almost all our readers, they are no more than a fair application to the future of the experience of the past—the only safe and sound principle on which political, equally with physical reasoning, can be founded; and if they appear, as they really do, chimerical, it is only because the elements of national strength and greatness, involved in the progress of a great colonial empire, greatly exceed any thing which even the imagination of the most ardent speculator can venture to suggest.

And if it be said that, long before such halcyon days can arrive, Canada and Australia will have thrown off their connexion with the mother state, and declared themselves independent, the answer is obvious. By so doing, they will indeed deprive us of that great and extraordinary advantage to our maritime strength which arises from the possession of flourishing colonial dominions; but they cannot deprive us of that dependence upon our trade and shipping which is necessarily inherent in all infant and rising states, whether colonial or independent. With such states, even after they have emancipated themselves, the reciprocity system cannot fail to be

advantageous to Great Britain, because their interests are necessarily wound up with the growth of agriculture and the rural manufactures; and, therefore, it neither can be their interest, nor will they possess the power to attempt to rival the parent state, either in the finer manufactures or in maritime exertion. The United States of America, it has been seen, notwithstanding their ardent ambition for a naval force, and their having been for more than half a century independent, are not yet able to compete with Great Britain in the carrying on of their own trade, and accordingly British shipping is continually making greater advances over the American in the conduct of the commercial intercourse between the two countries. The same must be the case, in a still greater degree, with our colonies in North America and Australia, because they are behind America in the career of civilisation, and therefore must be for a longer period dependent upon the mother country, both for the supply of their manufactures and the carrying on of their trade.

These statistical details point to the future policy, and illustrate what is the real sheet anchor of the British empire, as clearly as if the future, with its changes and its chances, were by miraculous interposition laid open to our view. It evidently appears, from the rapid and prodigious growth of the commercial intercourse which we maintain with the British colonies, compared with the stationary or declining condition of that which we enjoy with all the world besides, that we possess in ourselves, and independent of foreign rivalry, jealousy, or competition, sources of wealth, prosperity, and grandeur, greater than ever

yet were presented to any nation upon earth; while, on the other hand, the sources of our greatness, so far as they depend upon trade with independent states, have clearly reached their limit, and are now all tending towards decay. It is by implanting our seed, therefore, in distant regions, and following out our mission for the colonization and peopling of the desert regions of the earth, that we can alone hope to avert the stationary or declining condition which, from the operation of causes far beyond the reach of human control, has now, so far as our intercourse with foreign nations is concerned, come to act upon the British empire. And if we could conceive that the Government and people of this country (for both must co-operate in so mighty an undertaking) were duly impressed with the grandeur of this social duty, and were guided by adequate wisdom in carrying it into execution; if, discarding all selfish considerations or local interests, they regarded the British islands only as the metropolis of this vast transmarine dominion, and pursued in good faith the just and equal policy which the interests of such an empire imperatively require; if the industry of all parts, however remote, were protected by the admission of its produce at the same duty into the British harbours that the British is admitted into theirs; if British justice swayed alike the decisions of the courts of law on the Atlantic or the Pacific as within the precincts of Westminster Hall, and the British navy, maintained in adequate strength, and upheld by patriotic vigour, lay between to cement and defend the whole parts of this mighty dominion; no doubt can be entertained that the greatness of the British empire, wonderful as it already is, is but in its infancy, and that the ocean

would become to us what the Mediterranean was to the Romans,—a highway emanating from the centre of a boundless dominion, and the means of keeping firmly united its most distant provinces.

The details which have now been given will explain how the supporters of the reciprocity system have for so long a period succeeded in withdrawing public attention from the real tendency of the policy of the commercial system which has been pursued for the last fifteen years; and how it happened that, amidst the constant complaints of the ship-owners, that their interests were declining and almost destroyed, and their property ruined by the operation of that system, the President of the Board of Trade was always able to meet them by Parliamentary Returns, which showed that the trade and shipping of the empire, taken as a whole, was, notwithstanding, on the increase. It was evidently by blending together the exports to our colonies with the exports to the reciprocity countries, that the official advocates of the new system were so long able to conceal the real tendency of their system. They constantly affirmed, and with justice, that our exports were increasing, and our tonnage getting larger every year; but they did not tell us, what was nevertheless the case, that the countries with which our trade was chiefly increasing were our own colonies or distant states, with which we have no reciprocity treaties, and that the countries with which it was diminishing or receding in comparison with the foreign tonnage with us, were the European nations in our neighbourhood with which we had concluded reciprocity treaties, and to propitiate whose rulers we have been content to sacrifice three-fourths of our shipping employed in the Baltic trade. It is by se-

parating the great mass of our export trade and foreign tonnage into its component parts, and showing in what quarters it has increased, and in what diminished, that the real tendency of the system which we have been pursuing is brought to light; and it is distinctly made to appear that the reciprocity advocates have succeeded in vindicating their system solely by concealing its effects upon us in the countries with which it has been carried into execution, under the cover of the vast increase with those to which it has *not* been applied, or which stand in the situation of colonies to the mother country.

And, what is not a little singular, and perhaps unparalleled in such investigations, the reciprocity advocates have succeeded with a large portion of the public in maintaining the credit of their system, and decrying the value of our colonial trade, solely in consequence of the effect of the great increase of that very colonial trade in concealing the operation of their favourite reciprocity principles.

It is a mistake to say that these results demonstrate that practical experience is at variance with principle in this particular. There is in reality no contradiction between them. Mr Huskisson's principles were doubtless well founded in the abstract, and on the supposition that the prices of different commodities were the same in all countries, and that all were to enter the field of commercial regulation with hands unfettered—with hearts unimpassioned—and without any great vested interests already existing which depended on the continuance of the former system of trade. But his grand error consisted in this, that he overlooked the paramount necessity in all countries of at-

tending to the national security and defence in preference to the national wealth; the vast difference in the cost of producing the same article in different states, and the consequent necessity of protecting by fiscal regulations those branches of industry, if essential to the national independence, which are conducted at a disadvantage—and the absolute necessity of getting some compensation in return for a reciprocity concession, not by a reciprocity in regard to that one article, but in regard to some other article in which the disadvantage lies on the side of the country to whom the concession is made.

Nothing can be clearer than that the national defence and independence is of more importance than the mere growth of any particular branch of trade or manufacture. The considerations already urged on this subject are so obvious and important as to render it perfectly unnecessary to enlarge farther upon it. It is no doubt a very good thing to be rich, but it is also a much better thing to be independent. It is an advantage to have wealth, if we also possess the means of defending it; but if we are destitute of that security it will rather prove a curse, by alluring rival or hostile nations to encroach upon or plunder our possessions. No country in reality is in so dangerous and precarious a state as one which has a vast foreign trade and no adequate means of defence; because its wealth exposes it to violence which it has not the means of resisting.

The two grand articles in the trade of which it is of paramount importance that a maritime state should, at all hazards, maintain its superiority, are grain and shipping. The former is necessary for the subsistence

of its people—the latter is an essential element in its national defence and independence. It is in vain to say that a free trade can ever, consistently with the national security, be maintained by an old and wealthy state in either of these articles. If we are dependent on foreign supplies for grain, we cannot maintain even the shadow of independence; because foreign nations can at any moment, by simply closing their harbours, reduce our people to desperation, and our Government to submission. If we have not a powerful navy, we are equally liable to be subverted by having our harbours blockaded, and our foreign manufactures converted into a source of the most ruinous weakness, by being suddenly deprived of all vent for their industry. A great commercial state, therefore, that would maintain its independence, must, at all hazards, and even, if necessary, at the sacrifice of part of its wealth, preserve itself from falling into a state of dependence upon either foreign grain or foreign shipping. If it does not do so it is liable to have all its wealth at any moment wrested from it by the mere stoppage of the foreign supplies, or vent for produce on which it depended, and the resources on which it mainly relied for the subsistence of its people turned into the certain instrument of its subjugation.

The failure of the reciprocity system, now so clearly demonstrated by experience, was obviously owing to two causes.

In the first place, it was founded on an attempt to wage war against an important and irresistible law of Nature. It has been already shown that the rise in the money prices of all articles, whether of convenience or necessity, which invariably takes place in every

opulent and long established community, in consequence of the low price which money there bears from its long continued plenty, is a fixed law of the moral world, intended to equalize the distribution of wealth, and promote the spread and industry over the world.* This law the reciprocity system proposed to combat, not by establishing a market for domestic industry in remote possessions, but by opening up and maintaining an extensive commercial intercourse with *old states*, in the same degree of civilisation, and actuated by similar jealousies and desires with ourselves. The attempt necessarily failed, because it was counter to a law of Nature as general and important in its operation, as that which makes water descend from the mountains to the plain.

In the next place, the reciprocity system proposed to establish, and has in fact established, not a real but a nominal or apparent reciprocity; and thence its serious effect in injuring the maritime interests of this country, without obtaining for its inhabitants so much as one single countervailing advantage.

Every thing in such a case depends upon the relative price at which the article which is made the subject of such a treaty can be produced in the foreign states with whom it is concluded, and within our own bounds. If the article can be reared cheaper abroad than at home, it is a perfect delusion to say, that we have entered into a fair reciprocity treaty, because we admit that article on the same terms with them. Real reciprocity consists not in admitting the *same* article into our ports on the same terms on which our neighbours receive ours, but in obtaining admittance

* Ante, Vol. i. p. 210–216.

for a *corresponding article* on our side in which we have a corresponding advantage over them. Unless this is done, reciprocity is entirely elusory, because it is all on one side. For example, France produces abundance of wine in admirable quality, and England produces iron and cotton goods in similar quantity and quality. Real reciprocity would consist in a commercial treaty, whereby, in consideration of the wines of France being admitted into England at a low duty, the iron and cotton goods of England should be admitted at a low duty into France. There would be no reciprocity in France saying to England, "we will admit your wines on the same terms on which you admit ours;" or in England saying to France, "we will admit your cotton goods on the same terms on which you admit ours." The simple answer to such a proposal would be, that the cotton manufactures of France would be ruined by the superior capital and skill of those of England, and that the sour wines of England would be immediately extinguished by the claret and Champaigne of France. In like manner, there would be no reciprocity in Poland or Prussia proclaiming a free trade in corn, or an interchange of equal duties with England; because that is an article in which we never can compete with them, from the weight of the national debt and the higher price of labour in this country; or in England proclaiming a free trade in cotton goods with Prussia, because that is an article in which they never can compete with us, from our extraordinary manufacturing advantages. But there would be a very substantial reciprocity in a treaty of this description:—We will take *your grain* at a moderate duty, provided you take *our cottons* at as

moderate a duty. In support of such a treaty, we might say with justice—" Nature has given you the power of raising grain at two-thirds of the price at which we can do it, in consequence of the superior cheapness of your labour and abundance of your harvests, and she has given us the means of producing cotton goods and cutlery at two-thirds of the price that you can, in consequence of the superior richness of our coal mines and excellence of our machinery. Let us then conclude a commercial treaty founded on a just appreciation of our relative situations. Do you consent to encourage our manufactures, and we will consent to encourage your farmers; and let us mutually admit the goods in which nature has given a superiority to the one and the other, on the same terms." Such a proposal might be dangerous to national independence or to the home trade, by depressing our agricultural interest, but it would at least be a fair reciprocity, and unobjectionable on the footing of commercial dealing. But it would obviously be a perfect mockery at equality for England to say to Prussia, " We are dealing with you on the footing of reciprocity, because we admit your cotton goods on the same terms on which you admit ours;" or for Poland to say to England, " We are dealing with Great Britain on the footing of reciprocity, because we admit English grain into our harbours on the same terms on which they admit Polish." It is quite evident that in both these cases the country admitting and acting on such false principles would gratuitously inflict a serious evil upon itself, without any equivalent whatever, and that, running away with the *name* of reciprocity without the reality, it would in a very short

time, without any return whatever, consign a valuable portion of its industry to destruction.

Now this is just what we have done by deluding ourselves with the name of reciprocity without the reality in our maritime intercourse with foreign powers. Every one knows that the Baltic powers can carry on ship-building far cheaper than England, for this plain reason, that the materials of ships—timber, cordage, hemp, and tar—are produced by nature on the shores of the Baltic, in countries where labour is not half so dear as in the British isles. On the other hand, cotton goods and iron of all sorts can be manufactured far cheaper in Great Britain than either in France or the Baltic states, in consequence of the accumulation of capital and great skill in machinery in this country, and the incalculable advantage of our coal mines. *Real* reciprocity, then, would have consisted in a treaty, whereby, in consideration of our admitting *their* shipping into *our* harbours on as favourable terms as *they* admitted *ours* into theirs, they consented to receive *our cotton goods* into *their* ports on the same terms as we received *their* cotton fabrics into ours. No person can doubt that although such a system might have been hurtful to our maritime interests, and dangerous to our national superiority or independence, yet it would, with reference merely to national wealth, have been a fair reciprocity treaty, and would in the end have communicated upon the whole an equal and reciprocal benefit to the staple and natural branches of industry of both countries. But, instead of this, what have we done under the reciprocity system? We contented ourselves with issuing a proclamation, in which we said that we would admit Prussian, Danish, and Swedish shipping

into our harbours on the same terms on which they received ours. We never thought of making a stipulation in return for the boon thus conferred on their shipping, in which they had the natural advantage over us, that they should concede to us a similar boon for iron and cotton goods, where we had a natural advantage over them. That would have been *real* reciprocity, but we contented ourselves with *nominal* reciprocity, which was on our own side only. The consequence has been, that the Baltic shipowners gained the incalculable advantage of obtaining a competition on equal terms with the British shipping interest in the carrying on the intercourse between the Baltic shores and the British harbours, and sweeping off to themselves three-fourths of that valuable traffic, while the British manufacturers were not enabled in return to sell one pound worth more of their articles in the Baltic ports than before.

But this is not all. Not content with giving us no commercial advantage whatever, in return for this huge boon to their shipping interest, the continental nations have done just the reverse; and Prussia, in particular, to propitiate whom the navigation laws—that is, the nursery for our seamen—were sacrificed, has, in return, organized the celebrated *Prussian commercial league*, by which more than the half of Germany has been arrayed in decided hostility to our manufacturing industry. By this celebrated confederacy, the German states, containing *twenty-six millions of inhabitants*, have been combined in a league, founded on the principle of commercial hostility to England, and that the duties imposed throughout the whole extent of the league, on all goods of British manufac-

ture, are so heavy, being practically from forty to fifty per cent on the prime cost, that they in reality amount to a *total prohibition*. In like manner, we have made similar concessions to Portugal and Belgium, but met with nothing in return but increased duties on goods of British manufacture, in so much that the exports to Portugal, which, in 1827, were L. 1,400,000, fell, till, in 1836, they averaged L. 1,085,000; and those to Belgium, which in the same year amounted to above a million, had fallen, in 1836, to L. 839,276. While, on the other hand, the trade with Holland, which, in 1827, even including that with Belgium, with whom we have *no* reciprocity treaty, was only L. 2,104,000, had risen, in 1836, with Holland alone, to L. 2,509,000.* In short, to whatever side we turn in Continental Europe, it will be found that our concessions by reciprocity treaties, which have so deeply affected our maritime interests, have been met by nothing in return from the continental nations, but increased duties or restrictive prohibitions, and that we have maintained or encouraged our trade almost exclusively with those nations with whom we have made no such arrangements.

The reciprocity advocates, however, are not without an answer even to this powerful argument, founded on the absence of any return whatever for our maritime concessions in the commercial policy of any other state. They say, although it may be desirable, if possible, to effect diplomatic arrangements, whereby the favourable admission of our manufactures might be secured in return for the favourable concessions made on our side to foreign shipping; yet, whether

* Porter, ii. 104.

this advantage is gained or not, a substantial benefit accrues to British industry, by the increased importation of goods from foreign countries. The great thing, they contend, is, to increase our *importations*. If that can be effected, the growth of our exports must be corresponding; and the vivifying effect to British industry must be felt from one quarter or another. We do not, it is said, get the foreign goods we import for nothing. We must pay for them, either in our own manufactures, or in money, and in either case the benefit is the same, although in the latter it is more circuitous, to our domestic industry; for the money which buys foreign goods can be acquired only by us by the sale of our own produce.

It may be admitted that this argument is plausible, and seemingly satisfactory, but, upon a closer examination, its fallacy will be very apparent. It is quite true that we must purchase the money with which we pay for our foreign imports, by the disposal, some way, of our British manufactures; but it is not the less true, that if a *real* reciprocity system was entered into with the European states; that is to say, if we compelled them, in return for the advantages we held out to their shipping and industry, to give corresponding advantages to our branches of industry, in which they stand at a disadvantage to us, the export of our manufactures, and the consequent encouragement to our industry, would be far greater than it now is; for this plain reason, that we would ship our exports, and the produce of our industry, not only to the countries from which we buy our money, but to the countries also from whom we purchase our imports. For example, if at present we send L.5,000,000 worth of our manufac-

tures to South America, with which we purchase dollars to a similar amount, and then send these dollars to France, Prussia, and the other reciprocity countries, with a view to acquire the fruits of their industry, we gain in return for the purchase of L. 10,000,000 worth of the produce of both, that is, of L. 5,000,000 worth of dollars from South America, and L.5,000,000 worth of produce from Europe, *only five millions worth of our own manufactures off our hands*; whereas, if we had stipulated for similar advantages to our cotton goods, in return for the advantages conferred by us upon foreign shipping, we would have been enabled to sell *ten* millions worth of our manufactures, viz. 5,000,000 to South America, in exchange for the bullion, and 5,000,000 worth to Prussia and the other reciprocity countries, in exchange for their goods. The difference, therefore, in this case would be nothing short of 5,000,000 lost to our manufactures in the foreign markets. In the one case, we would engage in a real interchange of commodities, both with South America and Europe; in the other, the intercourse is real only with South America; and in the trade to the European state, we are nothing more than carriers, who effect a commercial intercourse, not with ourselves, but between the South American and the German states.

Lord Brougham, in the debate on the repeal of the Orders in Council in 1812, has explained, with even more than his usual felicity, the causes of this remarkable difference between the commerce opened with our own colonies, and that which can be maintained with any other independent state in the old world. "The extent," says he, "and swift and regular progress of the American market for British goods, is not supris-

ing; we can easily and clearly account for it. In the nature of things it can be no otherwise; and the reason lies on the very surface of the fact. America is an immense agricultural country, where land is plentiful and cheap; men and labour, though quickly increasing, yet still scarce and dear, compared with the boundless regions which they occupy and cultivate. In such a country manufactures do not naturally thrive; every exertion, if matters be left to themselves, goes into other channels. This people is connected with England by origin, language, manners, and institutions; their tastes go along with their convenience, and they come to us as a matter of course for the articles which they do not make themselves. Only take one fact as an example: the negroes in the southern states are clothed in English-made goods, and it takes 40s. a-year thus to supply one of these unfortunate persons. This will be admitted to be the lowest sum for which any person in America can be clothed; but take it as the average, and make a deduction for the expenses above prime cost, you have a sum upon the whole population of eight millions, which approaches the value of our exports to the United States. But it is not merely in clothing. Go to any house in the Union, from their large and wealthy cities to the most solitary cabin or log-house in the forests, you find in every corner the furniture, tools, and ornaments of Staffordshire, of Warwickshire, and of the northern counties of England. The wonder ceases when we thus reflect for a moment, and we plainly perceive that it can be no otherwise. The whole population of the country is made up of customers who require, and who can afford to pay for,

our goods. This, too, is peculiar to that nation, and it is a peculiarity as happy for them as it is profitable for us. I know the real or affected contempt with which some persons in this country treat our kinsmen of the West. I fear some angry and jealous feelings have survived our former more intimate connexion with them—feelings engendered by the event of its termination, but which it would be wiser, as well as more manly, to forget. Nay, there are certain romantic spirits who even despise the unadorned structure of their massive democratic society. But to me I freely acknowledge, the sight of one part of it brings feelings of envy as an Englishman: I mean the happy distinction that, over the whole extent of that boundless continent, from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Mississippi to the Atlantic Ocean, there is not one pauper to be found. Such are the customers whom America presents to us. The rapid increase of their culture and population, too, doubling in twenty-five or thirty years, must necessarily augment this demand for our goods in the same proportion. Circumstanced as the two countries are, I use no figure of speech, but speak the simple fact when I say, that not an axe falls in the woods of America which does not put in motion some shuttle or hammer, or wheel in England." *

Such is the astonishing effect of the causes thus eloquently described by Lord Brougham, as occasioning the surprising demand for English manufactures in the British Colonies, or the independent States which have arisen from that origin, over other countries. The following Table, which, *à priori*, would

* Parliamentary Debates, xxiii. 486–522.

have been incredible, shows the exports to different states, as compared with their respective population, and the value of British manufactures which they consume per head.*

It may truly be said that this table speaks as to the real interests and manufacturing establishments of Great Britain; and that, if the nation were not struck with judicial blindness, they would at once perceive where it is that the steady and rising market for British manufactures is to be found, and where, on the other hand, all our efforts to promote a successful traffic may be regarded as fruitless and unavailing. For fifteen years past our whole commercial policy has been directed to the object of gaining a more ready vent for our manufactures into the continental states of Europe. We have concluded no less than twelve reciprocity treaties with the principal powers; and, in order to propitiate their goodwill, we have sacrificed by our treaties all our commercial advantages at least in our intercourse with these states. And what has been the result? Why, that our commerce with them is a perfect trifle when

	Population.	Exports in 1836.	Proportion per head.
Russia,	60,000,000	L.1,742,433	L.0 0 8½
Sweden,	3,000,000	113,308	0 0 9
Denmark,	2,000,000	91,302	0 0 10
Prussia,	14,000,000	160,472	0 0 3½
France,	32,000,000	1,591,381	0 0 11
Portugal,	3,000,000	1,085,934	0 0 8
Spain,	14,000,000	437,000	0 0 8
United States of America,	14,000,000	12,425,605	0 17 0
British North American Colonies,	1,500,000	2,739,291	1 11 6
British West India Islands,	900,000	3,786,453	3 12 0
British Australian Colonies,	100,000	1,180,000	11 15 0

compared with that which we maintain with our own colonies, whom we have maltreated and neglected for their sakes; and that, while the old states take off a *few pence* per head of their population, our own colonies take off *as many pounds*. In this instance we have truly verified the old adage, that we have been penny wise and pound foolish, even in regard to our existing interests at the moment. But when, in addition to this, it is recollected that these colonies are part of ourselves—distant provinces of our own empire, whose blood is our blood, whose strength is our strength; that they are increasing in numbers with a rapidity unparalleled in the annals of the world; and that, however fast they may augment, they are by their situation and circumstances chained for centuries to agricultural and pastoral employments, and consequently our export trade with them must increase in the same proportion as their numbers; while, on the other hand, the states of continental Europe are increasing far less rapidly in numbers—are actuated for the most part by commercial or political jealousy, and may any moment become our enemies,—it may safely be affirmed, that the neglect of the colonial provinces to propitiate foreign powers, is of all human absurdities the most absurd.

Powerful as are these considerations, derived from the commercial and manufacturing interests of Great Britain, in favour of her colonial settlements, the facts pointing the same way, deducible from the shipping interests, are, if possible, still more conclusive. The essential difference between the shipping, which carries on a trade between the colonies and the mother country, is, that it is, as in the former case, *all our own*—in the latter, one-half belongs to our enemies.

This difference is so enormous,—the effects it produces on our maritime strength are so extraordinary,—that, numerous as are the details which we have already given, we cannot resist the temptation of contrasting our shipping and tonnage with some of the principal foreign powers with whom we have concluded reciprocity treaties, with that which we carry on with our own colonies.*

The present state of the British navy imperatively and loudly calls for such an addition to our naval strength as may cement and protect the various and highly exposed parts of our vast colonial dominion. Upon this point the proper comparison is, not with the British navy as it was during the tumult and dangers of the war, but as it stood on the 31st December 1792, six weeks before the war commenced;† and before the execution of Louis XVI., which took place on the 21st January 1793, had rendered that event

* British and Foreign Tonnage with Reciprocity Countries in 1836:

	BRITISH.		FOREIGN.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
Sweden,	66	10,865	250	42,439
Norway,	15	1,573	785	125,875
Denmark,	16	2,152	694	51,907
Prussia,	270	42,567	903	174,439
France,	2,036	198,339	1,740	108,352
United States,	226	86,383	524	226,483
	2609	341,879	4,896	729,495

Colonial Trade:

	BRITISH.	
East India Company's Territories,	Ships.	Tons.
Singapore and Ceylon,	227	97,034
New South Wales,	59	19,195
British Northern Colonies,	2,026	620,772
British West Indies,	900	237,922
	3212	974,923

† It began on 7th February 1793.

either inevitable or unavoidable. Now, upon turning to authentic documents, viz. James's History for the first period, and Mr Secretary Barrow in his Life of Anson for the second, we shall find that the defensive naval establishment of the nation at the two periods stood as follows.*

But perhaps it will be said, that though the British navy capable of meeting an enemy, is not thus one-half of what it was in 1792, yet this is because the resources of the country have so fallen off, that it *was not able* at the latter period to maintain the defensive establishment which was in existence at the former. To ascertain whether this is the case, let us examine what was the state of the population, our exports and imports, at these two periods, as affording a measure of the agriculture, manufactures, and general resources of the country. They stood respectively as follows.†

Thus it appears that, since 1792, the population of the British islands has more than doubled, the imports more than tripled, the exports more than quadrupled, and the commercial navy increased about seventy per cent., while the ships of war, in all branches, have *sunk to nearly a half of their standard in* 1792. This, too, has taken place during a time when the colonial empire of Great Britain has been multiplied above five-fold, and the chances of hostility with which we are brought in contact at

	Line in Commis.	Frigates in Commis.	Line ordinary and building.	Frigates ordinary and build.	Total Line.	Total Frigates.	Grand Total of all vessels.
1792,	26	52	124	63	153	115	411
1838,	21	9	70	84	90	99	363

	Population of Great Britain and Ireland.	Exports. Official Value.	Imports. Official Value.	Tonnage.
1792,	12,680,000	L.24,904,850	L.19,659,358	1,540,145
1838,	27,250,000	105,170,549	61,268,320	2,785,387

—Porter's Parliamentary Tables and Finance Accounts for 1838.

different points over the globe have been increased in a similar proportion.

It is easy to see to what cause this remarkable decline in our trade with old nations, and this marvellous increase in our commercial intercourse with our own colonies, is to be ascribed. It is evidently owing to the fact, that these old states are in the same stage of civilisation with ourselves, and, therefore, they are actuated by a natural desire to deal in the same articles, and to manufacture the same produce as ourselves. Are we Cotton-Spinners?—so are they. Are we Ironmasters?—so are they. Are we Silk-Manufacturers?—so are they. Are we Cutlery and Hardware Merchants?—so are they. Are we Clothiers and Woollen-Drapers?—so are they. There is no branch of industry in which we excel, in which they are not all making the greatest and most strenuous, and sometimes successful, efforts to rival and outstrip us. It is in vain that we meet them with the signs of amity, and hold out the olive-branch in token of our desire to establish reciprocity treaties on the footing of real mutual advantage. We cannot, by so doing, either shut the eyes of their manufacturers to the danger of British competition, or close the vision of their governments to the dazzling spectacle of British greatness. They see that we have risen to the summit of prosperity under the system of protection to domestic industry, and they naturally imagine that it is only by following our example that they can hope to rival our success. It is in vain that we now offer to meet them on the footing of perfect reciprocity. They say —"It is very well for you to throw down the barriers when your superiority in every branch of indus-

try is incontestible. When ours is the same, we will follow your example; in the meantime you must allow us to imitate the steps which enabled you to reach the elevated position which you now enjoy." It is difficult to see the answer which can be made to such arguments. It is not surprising that ardent and visionary men embraced the reciprocity system. It was founded on enlarged and philanthropic views, and it would be well for mankind if all nations could at once be brought to act upon the same wise and enlightened principles. But experience has now demonstrated that the endeavour to introduce that system into the world is, even in the most favourable view, premature, and that, in the attempt to attain it, we have essentially injured our own commercial navy and maritime strength, without having gained so much as one single countervailing commercial advantage.

Let us, therefore, no longer strain after the impracticable effort to disarm the commercial jealousy of the European states; but, boldly looking our situation in the face, direct our main efforts to the strengthening, conciliating, and increasing of our colonial empire. There is to be found the bone of our bone, and the flesh of our flesh. There are to be found the true descendants of the Anglo-Saxon race; there the people, who, already imbued with our tastes, our habits, our artificial wants, must be chained for centuries to agricultural or pastoral employments, and can only obtain from the mother-country the immense amount of manufactured produce which their growing wealth and numbers must require. So strongly marked out do these principles appear,—so clearly

is the future path traced out to England, not less by her duty than her interests, that there is no one circumstance in her present condition, not even those which are most justly considered as pregnant with danger and alarm, that may not be converted into the source of blessings, if a decided and manly course is taken by the nation and its government, in regard to its colonial interests. Indeed, so clearly does this appear, that one is almost tempted to believe that the manifold political and social evils of our present condition, are the scourges intended by Providence to bring us back, by necessity and a sense of our own interests, to those great national duties from which we have so long and so unaccountably swerved.

Are we oppressed with a numerous and redundant population. Are we apprehensive that a mass of human beings, already consisting of nearly thirty millions, and multiplying at the rate of a thousand souls a day, will ere long be unable to find subsistence within the narrow space of these islands? Let us turn to the colonies, and there we shall find boundless regions, capable of maintaining ten times our present population in contentment and affluence, and which require only the surplus arms and mouths of the parent state, to be converted into gigantic empires, which, before a century has elapsed, may overshadow the greatness even of European renown. Are we justly fearful that the increasing manufacturing skill and growing commercial jealousy of the Continental States may gradually shut us out from the European market, and that our millions of manufacturers may find their sources of foreign subsistence fail at a time when all home employments are filled up? Let us turn to the

Colonies, and there we shall see empires of gigantic strength rapidly rising to maturity, in which manufacturing establishments cannot, for centuries, take root, and in which the taste for British manufactures, and the habits of British comfort, are indelibly implanted on the British race? Are we overburdened with the weight of our poor-rates and the multitude of our paupers, and trembling under the effect of the deep-rooted discontent produced in the attempt to withdraw public support from the maintenance of the adult and healthy labourer? Let us find the means of transporting these healthy workmen to our colonial settlements, and we will confer as great a blessing upon them, as we will give a relief to the parent State. Are we disquieted by the rapid progress of corruption in our great towns, and alarmed at the enormous mass of female profligacy, which, like a gangrene, infests these great marts of pleasure and opulence? Let us look to the Colonies, and there we shall find states in which the population is advancing with incredible rapidity, but in which the greatest existing evil is, the undue and frightful preponderance of the male sex; and all that is wanting to complete their means of increase is, that the proportion should be righted by the transfer to distant shores of part of the female population which now encumbers the British isles?

Are the means to transport these numerous and indigent classes to these distant regions wanting, and has individual emigration hitherto been liable to the reproach, that it removes the better class of our citizens who could do for themselves, and leaves the poorest who encumber the land? The British navy lies between, and means exist of transporting, at hardly

any expense to the parent State, all that can ever be required of our working population from that part of the empire which they overburden, to that to which they will prove a blessing. It is astonishing the attention of Government has not, ere this, been turned to this subject. And why may not part at least of the British navy be constantly employed in transporting emigrants of all classes to our colonial possessions? Why should three hundred vessels of different sizes, that are now in commission in the British navy, be employed, only in useless parades, when hundreds of thousands on the British shores are pining for the means of transport across the seas, and millions of acres on the other side of the ocean, teeming with verdant fertility, await only their robust hands to be converted into a terrestrial paradise? Why should the British navy not be employed like the Roman legions, in time of peace, in works of public utility; and why should their efforts not construct causeways across the deep, which would bind together the immense circuit of the British colonial dominions, as strongly as the highways constructed by the legions cemented the fabric of their mighty empire? In this view, the last inconvenience attending a redundant pauper population—that of being with difficulty removed,—would be converted into an element of national strength, because it would induce all classes cheerfully to acquiesce in the duplication of our naval force, from which they all derive such obvious advantages; the navy would augment in size, and grow in usefulness, under such a salutary system; and the very quality which Adam Smith long ago remarked as the greatest obstacle to the improvement of the human

race, that of being the lumber which it is of all others the most difficult to transport, would become the means of augmenting the maritime force of England, and strengthening the unseen chain which holds together the far distant provinces of its mighty dominion.

Powerful as are these considerations, drawn from private interest and public advantage, there are yet greater things than these—there are higher duties with which man is entrusted, even than those connected with kindred or country; and if their due discharge is to be ascertained by statistical details, it is by those which point out the growth of moral and religious improvement, rather than those which measure the increase of commerce and opulence. In contemplating the wonderful progress of mankind in these particulars, a remarkable passage in an eloquent historian deserves particular consideration, the more so that it comes from the pen of one who never was accused of fanatical views, and whose brilliant powers were directed to any thing rather than visionary anticipations of future felicity.—"The hostile tribes of the North," says Mr Gibbon, "who detested the pride and power of the King of the World, suspended their domestic feuds; and the barbarians of the land and sea, the Scots, the Picts, and the Saxons, spread themselves with rapid and irresistible fury from the wall of Antoninus to the shores of Kent. Their southern neighbours have exaggerated the cruel depredations of the Scots and Picts; and a valiant tribe of Caledonia, the Attacotti, the enemies and afterwards the soldiers of Valentinian, are accused by an eye-witness of delighting in the taste of human

flesh. When they hunted the woods for prey, it is said that they attacked the shepherd rather than his flock, and that they curiously selected the most delicate and brawny parts of both males and females, which they prepared for their horrid repasts. If, in the neighbourhood of the commercial and literary town of Glasgow, a race of cannibals has really existed, we may contemplate, in the period of the Scottish history, the opposite extremes of savage and civilized life. Such reflections tend to enlarge the circle of our ideas, and to encourage the pleasing hope that New Zealand may produce, in some future age, the Hume of the Southern hemisphere."* Such were the words of prophetic genius seventy years ago; but what would Mr Gibbon have said if he had lived to the present time, and seen within that short period so vast a change in human affairs, that the event which he then regarded as almost as improbable as the barbarism of the West of Scotland, is already accomplished; and the descendants of the cannibals of Caledonia are setting forth from the shores of the Clyde, to convey to the cannibals of New Zealand the wonders of European art, and the blessings of Christian civilisation?

These marvellous changes do indeed enlarge the circle of our ideas, for they carry us back to primeval days, and the first separation of the different races of mankind upon earth. For what said the Most High in that auspicious moment, when the eagle first sported in the returning sunbeam—when the dove brought back the olive-branch to a guilty and expiring world, and the "robe of beams was woven in the sky which first spoke peace to man"—"God shall increase Japhet, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem, and

* Gibbon, Vol. iv. p. 297, chap. xxv.

Canaan shall be his servant." God *has* multiplied Japhet, and well and nobly has he performed his destiny. After conquering in the Roman legions the ancient world—after humanizing the barbarism of antiquity, by the power of the Roman sway, and the influence of the Roman law, the " Audax Japeti genus" has transmitted to modern times the glorious inheritance of European freedom. After having conquered in the British Navy the empire of the seas, it has extended to the utmost verge of the earth the influence of humanized manners, and bequeathed to future ages the far more glorious inheritance of British colonization. But mark the difference in the action of the descendants of Japhet—the European race—upon the fortunes of mankind, from the influence of that religion to which the Roman Empire was the mighty pioneer. The Roman legions conquered only by the sword; fire and bloodshed attended their steps; it was said by our own ancestors on the hills of Caledonia, that they gave peace only by establishing a solitude—*ubi solitudinem fecerunt pacem adpellant.* The British colonists now set out with the olive-branch, not the sword in their hand; with the Cross, not the eagle on their banners—they bring not war and devastation, but peace and civilisation around their steps, and the track of their chariot-wheels is followed, not by the sighs of a captive, but the blessings of a renovated world.

" He shall dwell," says the prophecy, " in the tents of Shem." Till these times, that prophecy has not been accomplished, the descendants of Shem—the Asiatic race—still hold the fairest portion of the earth, and the march of civilisation, like the path of

the sun, has hitherto been from east to west. From the plains of Shinar to the isles of Greece—from the isles of Greece to the hills of Rome—from the hills of Rome to the shores of Britain—from the shores of Britain to the wilds of America, the progress of civilisation has been steadily in one direction, and it has never reverted to the land of its birth. Is, then, this progress destined to be perpetual? Is the tide of civilisation to roll only to the foot of the Rocky mountains, and is the sun of knowledge to set at last in the waves of the Pacific? No; the mighty day of four thousand years is drawing to its close; the sun of humanity has performed its destined course; but long ere its setting rays are extinguished in the west, its ascending beams have glittered the isles of the eastern seas. We stand on the verge of the great Revolution of Time—the descendants of Japhet are about to dwell in the tents of Shem—civilisation is returning to the land of its birth, and another day, and another race are beginning to dawn upon the human species. Already the British arms in India have given herald of its approach, and spread into the heart of Asia the terrors of the English name and the justness of the English rule. And now we see the race of Japhet setting forth to people the isles of the east, and the seeds of another Europe and a second England sown in the regions of the sun.

But mark the words of the prophecy:—"He shall dwell in the tents of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant." It is not said Canaan shall be his *slave*. To the Anglo-Saxon race is given the sceptre of the globe, but there is not given the lash of the slave-driver, or the rack of the executioner. The East will

not be stained by the same atrocities as the West; the frightful gangrene of an enslaved race is not to mar the destinies of the family of Japhet in the Oriental world; humanizing, not destroying as they advance; uniting with, not enslaving, the inhabitants with whom they dwell, the British race may be improved in vigour and capacity in the Eastern Hemisphere, and the emigrants whom we see around us may become the progenitors of a race destined to exceed the glories of European civilisation, as much as they have outstripped the wonders of ancient enterprise. Views such as these arise unbidden at such a moment as the present, and they promise to realize the beautiful anticipations formed forty years ago by the Bard of Hope—who appears in this instance to have been almost inspired by the spirit of prophecy :—

> "Come bright Improvement in the car of Time,
> And rule the spacious world from clime to clime;
> Thy handmaid, Art, shall every wild explore,
> Trace every wave and culture every shore;
> On *Erie's banks*, where tigers steal along,
> And the dread Indian chaunts a dismal song;
> Where human fiends on midnight errands walk,
> And bathe in brains the murderous tomahawk;
> There shall the flocks on thymy pastures stray,
> And shepherds dance at Summer's opening day;
> Each wandering genius of the lonely glen
> Shall start to view—the glittering haunts of men;
> And silence mark, on woodland heights around,
> The village curfew as it tolls profound."

Nor is it to be imagined that Britain, in discharging these exalted duties, is not pursuing the course most likely to secure the ultimate benefit of its own inhabitants. The argument so often urged, that emigration is only a temporary relief, that the void thus

created is speedily filled up by the increased action of the principle of population at home; and that in the end, like the repeated bleeding of a plethoric patient, it leads only to an increase of the very evil it was intended to alleviate, is entirely fallacious. If, indeed, it could be supposed that the habits of the working classes were to remain the same, after the removal of their superfluous numbers had taken place as before that event, it may readily be conceded, that the relief would only prove temporary. But nothing can be more certain than that this would not be the case. If, by the removal of some hundred thousand of the more destitute of the people, more employment is left for those who remain behind, their wages will rise, their habits will improve, the standard of comfort to which they are habituated will be elevated; and population will gradually but certainly be brought under its real limitations, the prudential considerations and acquired wants of individuals.*

* The relief afforded to domestic industry by emigration is now very great;—so great, indeed, as to amount to a most important element in national prosperity. From the Parliamentary papers, it appears that the number who have emigrated from the British islands to our own colonies and the American states in 1836 and 1837, have been as follows:—

	1832.	1833.	1834.	1835.	1836.	1837.
British N. America,	66,339	28,808	40,060	15,573	35,226	29,884
Unit. S. of America,	32,980	29,225	33,074	26,720	37,774	36,770
Cape of Good Hope,	202	517	288	325	293	326
Australian Settlem.	3,792	4,134	2,800	1,860	3,124	5,054
Totals,	103,303	62,684	76,222	44,478	75,417	72,034

—Porter's Parl. Tables, vi. 166; vii. 199.

But these numbers, great as they are, do not by any means measure the total amount of emigration from the British islands; for, from the Parliamentary Returns, it appears that there landed at New York alone, as emigrants from the united kingdom,—

The argument, in short, for the secondary or ultimate effect of emigration in bettering the condition and improving the habits of the working classes at home, and thereby gradually diminishing the numbers of those among whom population has a tendency to advance with undue rapidity, is precisely the same as that already so amply enlarged on, by which a similar effect is shown to flow from the acquisition of landed property by the poor, or the blessed influence of public relief or private charity, on the national habits and the rate of human increase. But when, in addition to this, it is considered that, by promoting emigration, we not merely improve the situation, and elevate the habits of the working classes at home, but are laying the foundations of the most durable, widespread, and rapidly increasing market for their industry abroad; nothing can be clearer than that it is in the growth and prosperity of our colonial empire, that the true Elixir of British strength is to be found; and that, as this is evidently the path of duty pointed out to the nation by Providence, so it is by following it, that the largest share of happiness is to be secured to its inhabitants, and the greatest durability to its grandeur and power.

These considerations in some degree lift up the veil which conceals from mortal eyes the designs of the

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In 1836, . 59,075 persons.
1837, . 34,000.—Porter, vii. 199.

So that, taking the two together, there is at least 100,000 persons emigrate annually from Great Britain and Ireland. The annual increment of their numbers is at present about 365,000; so that nearly *one-third of the increase* is thus periodically drawn off;—a state of things fraught with the most lasting benefits, both to the parent state and the new world.

moral world, and show us what are the vast purposes which Supreme Intelligence has in view, in the triumphs which adorned the last, and the domestic convulsions which agitate the present generation. The former elevated the British navy to supreme dominion, and established the wonderful fabric of the British colonial empire, overspreading distant hemispheres, encircling the earth in its grasp; the latter diffused through the heart of the empire those discordant passions, that ceaseless activity, that straining after ideal perfection, which, unable to find gratification at home, was destined to impel a perpetual stream of activity to foreign settlements, and cover the wilderness thus brought under the British rule with the abodes of civilized man. Thence the prodigious extension of emigration which at once attended the political convulsion of 1832; and the vast growth, especially of our Australian settlements, during the last eight years. If, as already observed,* commercial democracy is the spring intended by Nature to counterbalance the attractions of home and kindred, and send forth the ardent colonist into distant lands, to spread in desert regions the seeds of civilisation, and the blessings of improvement; if the fervour of Grecian democracy, and the conquests of the Republican legions, were the means employed by Providence to diffuse civilisation along the shores of the Mediterranean, in ancient days, still more clearly were the triumphs of the British navy, and the growth of British liberty, the vast moving power which was to spread the wonders of European knowledge, and the blessings of Christian

* Vol. i. p. 31–32.

civilisation along the whole coasts of the maritime globe, in modern times.

Let us not, then, regret the difficulties which are to terminate in beneficence, the pains which beget immortality: the religious fervour of the seventeenth century planted the British seed in the western, the political zeal of the nineteenth has spread the Anglo-Saxon race through the southern hemisphere. The nation may well be in travail, for a new world has sprung from its bosom. Acknowledging with heartfelt thankfulness the direction of Supreme Intelligence, which thus makes alike the virtues and vices, the passions and greatness, the wisdom and folly of men the instruments for the furtherance of its designs, for the advancement of mankind, let us never forget that it is regulated freedom which alone can be the agent in this mighty scheme of beneficence; that the frantic passions of extrême democracy burst the overstrained spring of human improvement; and that, if we would co-operate permanently in the designs of Providence for the progress of the world, we can do so only by promoting that faith, and discharging those duties which are enjoined alike by the dictates of experience, and the book of Salvation.

CHAPTER XVI.

ON THE CORN LAWS.

ARGUMENT.

Permanent cause which in all old established states renders agricultural protection indispensable, if they would preserve their national independence—Argument against this by the Anti-Corn Law Advocates—Argument on the other side by the Agriculturists—Free Importation of Grain would in the outset lower, but not in the end materially affect, the price of provisions—Permanently reduced prices and permanently overflowing supply cannot coexist—Instances of the impossibility of this from the case of separate cities—And countries—Fall in the price of subsistence would not benefit the condition of the People—As wages would immediately fall in the same proportion—Manufacturers would not be benefited—As the home market for their produce would be lost greater than the foreign gained—Superior importance of the home to the foreign consumption of our manufactures—Value of the agricultural produce of the Nation—And our Manufactures—Proportions of the people employed in these different interests—Dangers of free admission of foreign grain to our national independence—Immense resources of British agriculture—Important effect of Corn Laws in equalizing prices—Example of the effect of agricultural plenty on general prosperity from four years preceding 1836—And of the opposite effect from the four bad years since that time—Nations from whom we import corn will not take our manufactures—Reasons of this jealousy of our commercial greatness—Vast inferiority of the markets for our manufacturing produce in these nations to that afforded by our own cultivators.

"IT is to no purpose," said Dr Johnson, "to tell me that eggs are only a penny the dozen in the Highlands.—That is not because eggs are many; but because pence are few." This caustic but profound observation of the great sage of the eighteenth century, points to the reason which in every age has rendered it indispensable for a nation which aspires to remain indepen-

dent to give legislative protection to its agricultural industry, in the later stages of society. The same reason perpetually operates to compel such protection, which must always render any attempt at establishing an extensive commercial intercourse with such states on the footing of real reciprocity impracticable; viz. that prices inevitably rise in the old and wealthy community from the great quantity of the precious metals, or the existing currency which their opulence enables them, and their numerous mercantile transactions compel them, to keep in circulation; and, consequently, the necessaries of life can only be raised at a higher money cost by its inhabitants than by the cultivators of ruder and poorer states. When this state of matters has arrived, the nation must do one of two things: either it must by fiscal duties screen its native agriculture from the effects of foreign competition, or it must be content to see its fields return to pasturage, and its rural population melt away, while the supplies of the nation are mainly obtained from foreign states. The great law of Nature, already noticed, intended for the equalization of the encouragement of industry, and the spread of population over the globe, and to prevent either from becoming pent up within the limits of a single state, necessarily induces this result; and accordingly it has been exemplified in ancient times for a very long period, and on the greatest possible scale. Rome, from enjoying the dominion over the whole civilized nations which dwelt on the shores of the Mediterranean, of necessity, and in a true liberal spirit, allowed them all a free trade in grain; and the consequence was, that, for the four last centuries of the empire, agriculture

continually declined in the Italian provinces: the sturdy old race of cultivators, the strength of the legions, disappeared; the vast estates of the nobles cultivated by slaves were devoted to pasturage; and it was the complaint of its historians, that the existence of the Roman people had been left to the chance of the winds and the waves, and that the mistress of the world depended for its subsistence upon the floods of the Nile.*

As this progressive and unavoidable change, however, comes to affect seriously the interests or supposed interests of different classes in the old established community, it has in this country become the object of vehement contention.

Wheat, it is said, can be raised in Poland at from twenty-one to twenty-five shillings a-quarter, and it may be laid down at any time at any harbour in Great Britain at from twenty-five to thirty shillings. If, then, the harbours were permanently opened, we should obtain provisions at little more than half the price which we at present pay for them. The advantages of such a change would be incalculable; every poor man would find himself suddenly in possession of double his income. The large surplus which would remain at the disposal of all classes, after providing for their necessary wants, would immensely increase their general comfort, and proportionally augment the quantity of the luxuries and conveniences of life they would be enabled to purchase. The home market for our manufacturers would thus increase with the prosperity of all the industrious classes. The foreign vent for our manufacturing industry

* Tacitus, Ann. xii. 53. Gibbon, vi. 235.

would be equally extended, by the vast impulse which would be given to foreign agriculture by the increased demand for its productions in this country, and the increased wealth which our extensive purchases of their produce would diffuse through foreign states. The agricultural classes, or labourers, who might be thrown out of employment in the British islands, in the first instance, would speedily find a more profitable occupation for themselves and their families, by engaging in the manufacturing establishments, to whom this auspicious change would communicate an unheard of degree of activity and extension. All classes would in the end be benefited who really deserve encouragement—few, even for a time, injured in the disposal of their industry. None, in the long run, will suffer but the selfish aristocrats, who have hitherto saved themselves from insolvency, by levying an enormous tax upon the other classes of the community.

The supporters of the agricultural interest argue after a different manner. Experience, they observe, has now abundantly proved that the British cultivator, oppressed as he is by the weight of taxes, poor's rates, and high prices, from which the agriculturists of poorer or more fertile states are relieved, cannot maintain the struggle under a system of free competition. If, therefore, foreign grain be admitted free of duty, the unavoidable consequence will be, that the British cultivators will be driven out of the market; a great proportion of the arable land in the country will be restored to a state of nature; the vast capital employed in bringing it to its present state will in a few years be destroyed; the agricultural interest will be essentially injured; and if so, will the manufac-

turers find any compensation for the loss of their markets by the extension of the sale of British manufactures in foreign states? Will the cultivators of the Volga and the Vistula ever consume as much per head of British manufactures as those of Kent, Norfolk, or East Lothian? And if they will not, are we not straining after a remote, uncertain, and contingent benefit, by seeking to encourage the industry of states who may any day become our enemies, to the detriment of our own neighbours and countrymen, whose habits are fixed on our productions, who consume ten times as much of them as any foreign population, and the market afforded by whose industry is steady, certain, and constantly increasing?

In forming an opinion between these two contradictory set of arguments, the first object of inquiry is, Whether the advantages of a free trade in grain are likely to be as real and its disadvantages as chimerical as its advocates imagine?

Is it, then, really certain that an unrestricted importation of foreign grain would, in the long-run, lower the money price of provisions to the British labourers? It appears to be extremely doubtful whether it would have this effect after the lapse of a certain number of years. Nay, it may be doubted whether the result in the end would not be that the price of subsistence would be *raised* to the British consumer. It may safely be conceded that, in the *first instance*, the abolition of the Corn Laws would occasion a considerable fall in the price of British grain, because it would bring into competition with the British farmer an extensive class of producers who raise their farm produce on richer soils, under finer climates, or with

cheaper labour. But would this effect be permanent? Would the price of grain, at the end of five or seven years, remain at the low standard to which it had been reduced by the sudden influx of foreign competition? Nothing can be clearer than that it would not. The depression of price would immediately throw a large portion of British arable land out of tillage; the higher or inferior soils would cease to be cultivated, because they could not be cultivated for a profit; and heath or broom would resume their dominion over a large part of the now cultivated tracts in England. This effect would be inevitable; for although, in the end, rent and wages might be forced down by necessity to the lower level induced through the change of prices, yet we know by experience that this would only be the case after a protracted course of suffering on the part of both the agricultural labourers and farmers, and after the destruction of a large part of the capital now employed in the cultivation of the soil. In the interim, as the prices the farmer received for his grain and other produce had generally fallen, while his rent and expense of culture had undergone little or no diminution, he would be unable to continue his expenditure on the less productive soils, and be compelled to concentrate his efforts upon those to which nature has been most bountiful.

What, then, would be gained by such a change but an alteration in the class and the nation by whom our subsistence was to be furnished? The home-growers would be depressed as much as the foreign growers would be encouraged in their operations. The market would not in the end overflow; it would only be competently supplied, and depend in part on foreign in-

stead of domestic industry. If Poland and Russia would produce more for the British manufacturers, Great Britain and Ireland would produce less. Farming, to the extent of perhaps three millions of quarters annually, would be destroyed in the British isles, and farming to a similar extent would be called into existence on the banks of the Vistula or the Dnieper. But there could not be any permanent increase of the supply over the demand. Foreign competition would do for British agriculture what British manufactures would do, and have often done, when so admitted, to foreign manufacturing industry, viz. produce a total destruction of a large part of the deluged branch of industry. We might, according to Mr Canning's hyperbole, by so doing call a new world into existence to correct the balance of the old; but would we not, in the perilous attempt, submerge, as he has done, the one continent, in proportion as we elevated the other?

The fundamental error of the opponents of the Corn Laws on this point is, that they suppose two things to continue which can never co-exist in the same country, or even in the same district of country, viz., *permanently reduced prices, and a permanently overflowing supply.* Common sense as well as universal experience, demonstrate that no such result can permanently take place. It may ensue, and often does ensue for a time, but such a state of things never has been, and never can be, lasting. The manufacturing classes are well aware of this on their own side of the question. Give us, they invariably say, a free importation, and we will, by the superior cheapness of our manufactures, extinguish the production of every competing state. The main ground of their numerous

and at present well-founded complaints against the British Government is, that they have neglected to stipulate for the advantage of importation at moderate duties with the other countries with whom we have concluded reciprocity treaties. Yet, strange to say, they do not see, or affect not to see, that a similar result must ensue from the unrestricted importation of foreign grain into the British harbours, and that the same necessity which would compel the one-half of the iron-masters of France to blow out their furnaces, if the hardware goods of Birmingham and Carron were admitted duty-free into the French harbours, must compel the British farmer to consign a large part of his fields to the heath-fowl and the plover, if Polish grain is admitted duty-free to the British harbours.

Holding it, then, as clear that the necessary effect of the repeal of the Corn Laws would be a great increase of foreign, and a great diminution of British agriculture, the question is, would such a state of things afford any guarantee for a considerable or permanent reduction in the price of the necessaries of life to the working classes of Great Britain? Nothing seems clearer than that such an expectation would prove altogether illusory. The impetus given to foreign agriculture would immediately and considerably raise the price of foreign grain, while the same causes would in the same proportion lower that of British. Polish wheat would rise from twenty-five shillings a quarter to thirty-five or forty; British would fall from fifty-five to forty-five or forty. But would this effect continue when the produce of British agriculture, yielding to the effect of a competition which it could not withstand, was rapidly and progressively diminishing? It clearly

would not. The foreign grower would gradually beat down the British, and get the monopoly of the British market into his own hands. The moment this auspicious state of things arrived, the competition being practically at an end, prices would gradually rise again; the foreign grower, finding himself relieved from the competition with the British one, would not be slow in raising his prices. The banks of the Elbe and the Vistula would wave with abundant and luxuriant harvests, while those of the Thames, the Mersey, and the Clyde, would in great part be restored to the wilderness of nature; but it is by no means clear that the operative of Manchester or Glasgow would eat his bread cheaper, because he had practically come to depend upon the wheat growers of Poland instead of those of his own country.

Instances of the practical working of this principle are of every day's occurrence in the neighbourhood of every great town. If some essential article of consumption, such as coal, is raised in its immediate vicinity, as is the case in Birmingham, Newcastle, or Glasgow, and by the opening of a railway or canal, the same article is suddenly thrown into it in vast quantities from a more remote mineral district, where the cost of production is not a third of what it is in the crowded avenues to the city, the ultimate effect is, not that both parties continue their operations, and the citizens obtain the undiminished benefit of their continued competition, but that, after a short and severe struggle, *one or other is driven out of the field.* The party who can produce the article cheapest in the end prevails, and the moment that he finds himself relieved from the pressure of his antagonist, he immediately

raises the price upon the now defenceless consumer. Numerous have been the instances in which similar distant competition has been introduced by the steam communication of late years, in the supply of great cities with the staple articles of their consumption, and a great reduction of price has often, in the first instance, been the consequence; but no considerable permanent alteration in the price of these articles has taken place. Eggs, poultry, and vegetables are brought in profusion to the Glasgow market, by the steam-boats from Ireland and the Highlands; but these articles are just as dear in the Glasgow market now as they were before steam-power was applied to the purposes of navigation. The small farmers of Renfrewshire and Lanarkshire have been as much depressed by the change as those of Ireland and Argyleshire have been benefited. And it has been proved, in one memorable instance, running through a course of centuries, that a great people derive no permanent benefit in the form of a reduction of the prices of the necessaries of life, by a free importation of grain from distant states. By the extension of their power over all the nations adjoining the Mediterranean, as well as by the incessant clamours of the Roman populace for cheap bread, the Roman Government was early obliged to admit a free importation of grain from Sicily, Lybia, and Egypt, the great granaries of mankind in ancient times. And what was the result? Exactly what evidently would ensue from the application of a similar principle to the British islands. The Italian cultivation was depressed as much as the African or Egyptian was increased; the price of grain underwent no diminution to the Roman populace, but was fully higher,

on an average, than it has been in England for the last ten years, while the small arable farms of Italy, the nursery of the legions, were absorbed in great sweeps of pasture; the race of independent cultivators disappeared; the strength of the vitals of the state was consumed; and at length the independence of the central provinces of the empire was destroyed.

But suppose this effect not to take place: suppose that, in consequence of the unrestricted admission of foreign grain, the price of subsistence is permanently lowered to the British consumer,—will any benefit thence in the end accrue to the working classes of Great Britain? If, indeed, they could succeed in maintaining their money-wages at the existing level, they would be very great gainers indeed by the change; although the withering effect of the destruction of the agricultural classes would, in the end, come to react on this temporary prosperity of the manufacturing classes. But could the manufacturing operatives, or any class of labourers, keep their money-wages up at their present level, if a permanent reduction in the price of the necessaries of life had taken place? Nothing is clearer than that they could not. The money-rate of wages, wholly independent of the price of provisions from year to year, is entirely regulated by it, other things being equal, from ten years to ten years. If by the free importation of foreign grain the money price of it is reduced one-half, the ultimate result will be, that wages will fall one-half also. It is impossible it can be otherwise; for even if the reduction did not ensue from any other cause, it would inevitably be brought about by the great impulse given to population, and consequent

multiplication of labourers, under the influence of undiminished money-wages and augmented ease of circumstances, and an increased durable fall in the price of the necessaries of life.

Past history and present experience alike concur in demonstrating this important fact. In the time of the Norman Conquest, the price of wheat was from three shillings and sixpence to five shillings a quarter; but nevertheless the labourers had not half the command of the necessaries and conveniences of life they have now, for the money-wages of labour were a halfpenny a-day during the remainder of the year, and a penny in harvest. Provisions are incomparably cheaper in Poland and in Russia than in this country; but are the Polish or Russian peasants half as comfortably fed, lodged, or clothed, as the corresponding classes in this country? Every one knows that, so far from being so, or obtaining any benefit whatever from the cheap price of provisions in their own country, they are, in truth, the most miserable labourers in Europe, and feed upon scanty meals of rye-bread, in the midst of the splendid wheat crops which they raise for the more opulent consumers in this country. In the southern provinces of Russia, wheat is often only ten shillings a-quarter, from the total want of any market. But what is the consequence? Why, that wages are so low, that the Cossack horseman gets only eight shillings and sixpence a-year of pay from government. Wheat and provisions of all sorts are much cheaper in Ireland than in Great Britain; but, nevertheless, the Irish labourers do not enjoy one-half of the comforts or necessaries of life which fall to the lot of their brethren on this side of the Channel.

Provisions of all sorts are extravagantly dear in every part of America, Canada, and Australia; but, high as they are, the wages of labour, from the rapid growth of these colonies, are still higher, and the condition of the labouring classes is beyond all precedent prosperous and comfortable. The mere necessaries of life are sold almost for nothing in Hindostan and China, but, so far from obtaining any benefit from that low rate of prices, the labouring classes are so poor as to taste hardly any thing but rice and water; and wages are so low, seldom exceeding twopence a-day, that every sea-boy, foot-soldier, and horseman, has two, and every native three attendants to wait upon his person. Examples of this sort prove how extremely ill-founded is the common opinion, that permanent low prices must necessarily produce comfort to the working classes, and tend to show that Mr Smith was much nearer the mark, when he said, "High prices and plenty are prosperity, low prices and want are misery."

So much habituated are ordinary observers, however, to consider low prices as the invariable concomitant of prosperity, and so true is it that for a season, or even a course of seasons, which are particularly fine, the working classes obtain the full benefit of the reduction of prices, that there is no one proposition in political economy which will be more readily conceded by the well-informed, and more obstinately resisted by the ordinary mass of observers. And the difficulty of acquiring just views on this subject is much increased by the fact, that,—though the money-wages of labour in the long-run necessarily sink with the fall in the price of provisions, and, consequently, the well-

being of the population in the end has no connexion with the money price of provisions,—yet the *density* of the population, and the *capacity of the state* to maintain in comfort an increase of inhabitants, are in a great degree dependent upon the fertility of the soil, and the money-price at which provisions can be obtained for the people. Other things being equal, unquestionably the plain of Lombardy, or the provinces of Brabant, will be more populous than the sands of Bourdeaux, or the heaths of Old Castile. But, without disputing that the capacity of the soil to yield an increase of subsistence is the most important element in considering the means of future increase which are afforded to the people, there is nothing more certain than that such capability is no test whatever either of their present or future prosperity. No further proof of this is necessary than what is afforded by the Irish Catholics swarming in rags and poverty in one of the richest and most abundant soils in Europe, while the Scotch peasantry are living in comparative affluence and comfort on the churlish soil, and under the clouded skies, of Caledonia.

As little is there any foundation for the opinion which commonly passes as an axiom incapable of dispute with the opponents of the Corn Laws, that a free trade in grain with the Continent would immensely extend the market that would be opened for our manufactures in the states benefited by our purchases of grain. For, in the first place, what security have we that these great grain countries, particularly Russia, Poland, and Prussia, which are at this moment entirely subject to the influence of the Czar, will ever make any concessions in return for the favour of their

produce? All past experience demonstrates that they will gladly accept any relaxation on our part in favour of their agriculture, but as strenuously resist any relaxation on their part in favour of our manufactures. Their *reciprocity* is all on one side. They will thankfully take every thing, but give nothing. This may be unreasonable—absurd—and, in the end, impolitic; but we assert it as a fact, and we must deal with mankind as they are, not risk hazardous innovations upon speculations of what they *should* be. We abandoned our navigation laws in order to conciliate Prussia, and she immediately met us with the Prusso-Germanic league, which arrayed five-and-twenty millions of Germans in a hostile commercial combination against this country, and practically loaded all British manufactures, through the whole extent of their territories, with an *ad valorem* duty practically amounting to fifty per cent. We equalized the duties on French and Portuguese wines in the hope that the Cabinet of the Tuileries would make a similar concession in favour of the manufactures of this country; but we have looked in vain for any reduction of the French duties on British iron or cotton goods. We concluded a reciprocity treaty in 1826 with Sweden and Norway, as usual all on one side; and hardly a year has since elapsed which has not been marked with a fresh imposition of duties on British goods and manufactures in the Scandinavian harbours. We have taken Belgium and Portugal under our peculiar protection, and, in fact, solely propped up their existence during the last seven years; and, in return, they have loaded our manufactures with such progressively increasing duties, that the British exports to both these countries

are now L. 500,000 a-year less than they were prior to 1830, when our revolutionary protection commenced. These facts demonstrate on how precarious a footing any hopes are rested of our obtaining any concessions in favour of British manufactures from any relaxation, how important soever on our part, on foreign agricultural industry, and how obstinately other nations cling to the system of prohibitory protections to their own manufactures, notwithstanding the most unreserved advances on our part to a more liberal system of commercial policy.

But even if it were otherwise, and we possessed a perfect security that, by abolishing the duties on foreign corn, we should succeed in obtaining a free importation for our goods into the northern states, is there any ground for supposing—and here is the vital point of the argument—that such extension of the foreign market would, upon the whole, afford any benefit to the British manufacturers. No one, indeed, can for an instant doubt that if our manufacturers could *retain the home market for their produce* at its present level, and at the same time obtain, by the free importation of foreign grain, a proportional extension of the foreign market for their produce in the grain states of the Continent, they would be very great gainers indeed by the change. But would they be able to do this? And would not the transference of our orders for grain from domestic to foreign agriculturists necessarily induce as great a diminution in the *home* market for our manufactures as it occasioned an increase in the foreign? That is the essential point of the case; but, nevertheless, it is continually overlooked by the opponents of the Corn Laws, who uniformly

hold out an extension of the foreign sale for our manufactures, upon the whole, as a necessary and immediate result of the abolition of our duties on foreign grain, wilfully shutting their eyes to the simultaneous and equal decline of the home market. But is it not as clear as any proposition in arithmetic, that the quantity required for the wants of our people remaining the same, no advantage could possibly accrue to our manufacturers by transferring their encouragement to agriculture from the home market to foreign states? If, in consequence of living in great part on Polish grain, the Polish landholders and cultivators are so much enriched as to be able to purchase a greater quantity of our manufactures, it is quite clear that the British farmers, who at present exclusively supply the home market, would be impoverished to the same extent, and that what is gained on the one side would be lost on the other. If the grain at present consumed by the inhabitants of the United Kingdom is five-and-twenty millions of quarters, all raised by the home growers, which is, probably, not far from the mark, and, in consequence of the abolition of the Corn Laws, five millions of these quarters were to come to be habitually provided for us by foreign states, the market for our manufactures would in no degree be extended. British agriculture would produce five millions of quarters less, and Polish agriculture five millions of quarters more; but still the supply of five-and-twenty millions of quarters would remain the same, and the extension of our foreign exports, by the creation of five millions of quarters of new foreign grain, would be exactly compensated by the contraction of the home market for five millions of quarters

previously in the course of annual production in the British Islands.

But, in truth, this is putting the argument a great deal too favourably for the anti-Corn-Law party; for nothing can be clearer than that, by such a transfer of agriculture from the British islands to the shores of the Vistula, the possible, or perhaps probable extension of the market for our manufactures, by the increased wealth thrown into foreign states, would bear no sort of proportion to the certain diminution of the home market from the depression of our agriculture. Mr Smith has long ago stated, that the most profitable trade for every state is that which is carried on between the town and the country, and that the home market for our manufactures is worth all foreign markets put together. It is a much more profitable thing to have a good market in our next-door neighbour than in a distant state. The habits of our own people are formed to the consumption of our own manufactures in the first instance, and the purchase of foreign luxuries only in the second. In foreign countries the case is the reverse: their principal consumption is of their own articles of luxury. A much larger proportion of the wealth derived from the sale of their produce will be employed in the purchase of our manufactures if they are fed by their own farmers, than if they are fed by those of foreign states. If ten millions' worth of Baltic grain is purchased for the British market, a considerable part of it may, perhaps, return to our operatives in the shape of an extended demand for British manufactures. But a much larger proportion of the same sum will take that profitable direction, if it is laid out in the purchase of

grain raised in Great Britain and Ireland. The reason is obvious. British manufactures are a necessary to the British farmers and cultivators. But to the foreign landholders or cultivators great part of our manufactures are unknown luxuries. A large portion of the agricultural wealth on the Continent will be spent on *Continental* luxuries, and a comparatively small proportion will be directed towards the purchase of articles manufactured in the British islands.

Further, it appears, from the most correct calculations which have recently been made, that the total amount of agricultural produce annually raised in Great Britain and Ireland, is two hundred and forty-six millions sterling; and the total amount of its manufactures annually reared is only one hundred and forty-eight millions.* This fact demonstrates, in the most

* Estimate of the Value of Produce and Property annually raised in Great Britain and Ireland, by the Combination of Capital with all animate and inanimate power.—Pebrer's Statistical Tables, p. 350.

AGRICULTURE.	
Grain of all sorts,	L.86,700,000
Hay, grass, field turnips, vetches, &c.	113,000,000
Potatoes,	19,000,000
Gardens, orchards, and nurseries,	3,800,000
Timber cut down, hops, seeds, &c.	2,600,000
Cheese, butter, eggs, &c.	6,000,000
Manure and labour in rearing cattle,	3,500,000
Hemp and wool, labour included,	12,000,000
	L.246,600,000
MANUFACTURES.	
Cotton,	L.31,000,000
Silk,	8,000,000
Woollen,	16,250,000
Linen,	11,000,000
Leather,	15,000,000
Hardware,	17,300,000
Carry forward,	L.98,550,000

striking manner, both how much superior the agricultural interest in the state still is to the manufacturing, notwithstanding the enormous increase of handicrafts of all sorts of late years, and also the essential injury which would be inflicted upon our manufacturers themselves, if, by a change of policy injurious to our own agriculturists, any serious diminution were to take place in the home market for their productions; for it appears, from the Parliamentary returns, that the total export of British manufactures, on an average of three years, ending in 1837, two of which were the most prosperous that ever were known, was about L.48,500,000, the numbers being as stated below.*

Considerably more than two-thirds, therefore, of our whole manufactures are *raised for the supply of the home market;* and of the total wealth of the British islands, which amounts at present to above five hundred millions a-year, hardly a twelfth part is produced by the manufactures for the export sales, the numbers being as follows:—

Total property annually produced,	L.514,000,000
Declared value of manufactures exported, on average of last three years,	48,500,000†

It is quite clear, therefore, that, notwithstanding

(Note continued.)

Brought forward,	L.98,550,000
China, glass, pottery, &c.	5,900,000
Jewellery, plate, &c.	3,400,000
Paper, furniture, colours, printing and book apparatus, &c.	9,000,000
Miscellaneous,	31,200,000
	L.148,050,000

* Declared value of British and Irish Produce and Manufactures, exported, 1835, L.47,372,000; 1836, L.53,368,000; 1837, L.47,262,000.

† Pebrer's Statistical Tables, p. 350.

the plausible representations which they make of their immense importance to the national resources, and the vast masses of wealth which they exhibit in particular districts, the manufactures for the export sales hardly produce *a twelfth part of the annual income derived from the industry of the nation*, and will bear no proportion, either in point of magnitude or importance, either to the agriculturists or the manufacturers for the home market. The former produce at least five times, the latter about double, the value annually created by the manufacturers for the export sales. Nothing, therefore, could be so impolitic, nay, so absolutely insane, as to adopt any measure calculated to injure the interests of a class producing nine-tenths of the national wealth for the sake of one creating only one-tenth.

The same conclusions are derivable from the survey of the different employments of our population. It appears from the Population Returns of 1821, that the total number of families employed in manufactures, agriculture, and neutral employment stood as follows:

Families employed in	Agriculture.	Manufactures.	Neutral.
In England,	773,000	1,118,000	454,000
In Wales,	74,000	41,000	31,000
In Scotland,	131,000	190,000	127,000
In Ireland,	220,000	232,000	106,000
	1,198,000	1,581,000	718,000

The families employed in manufactures, therefore, are upwards of 300,000 less than those employed in agriculture, or who gain their subsistence in other ways. Keeping in view that the produce of British agriculture is, in round numbers, two hundred and fifty millions sterling, while that of British manufac-

tures is only one hundred and fifty, and that of the latter branch not more than fifty millions are raised for the export sale, it may reasonably be presumed, that of the neutral class, the dependents on agriculture and home manufactures will be divided from the dependents on foreign manufactures nearly in the same proportion; in other words, not more than a twelfth part of the neutral class can be considered as dependent upon foreign manufactures; and the numbers of the people may be arranged, according to the interests in the state on which they depend, nearly as follows. *

In other words, all the families dependent upon our foreign manufactures are not *a fifth part of those dependent upon the agriculture and home manufactures* of the kingdom; and even adding to the latter class the whole of those employed in the foreign trade connected with our export manufactures, it may safely be concluded, that the population employed in agriculture and the home trade, and the branches of industry dependent on them, is at least six times as numerous as those engaged in the manufactures for the foreign markets, and the employments connected with that branch of industry.

Further, when the working classes are so exceedingly willing to impose upon the British farmers the

* Families dependent on

Agriculture, -	1,198,000
Manufactures for home consumption (2-3ds of 1,581,000), -	1,054,000
Neutral class dependent on agriculture and home manufactures (11-12ths of 718,000.)	657,350
	2,909,350

Families dependent on

Manufactures for foreign market (1-3d of 1,581,000), -	527,000
Neutral class dependent on foreign manufactures (1-12th of 718,000), -	59,750
	586,750

burden of unrestrained foreign competition, are they equally ready to give them the benefit of a similar burden of restrictions existing in favour of their own industry? They are not. We hear a great deal of the necessity of allowing Polish wheat to come in duty-free to the British harbours; but do we hear much of the propriety of admitting French silks, Swiss chintzes, Silesian calicoes, or Saxon cloths, on the same terms to the British market? The anti-Corn-Law advocates profess their willingness to allow this; but none of their acts correspond to these professions. Yet it is evident that the British manufacturers are much better able to withstand a free importation with foreigners than the British cultivators; for in capital and machinery England is far in advance of any other country in the world, and capital and machinery are capable of effecting an almost indefinite reduction in manufactures, but they can effect a very trifling reduction in the cost of raising the necessaries of life. The proof of this is decisive. Indian cotton, manufactured in Glasgow or Manchester by British steam-looms, is capable of underselling Hindoo manufacture in the Hindoo market, even when manufactured by persons receiving only threepence a-day of wages; but we should like to see what profit could be made by exporting British wheat to Hamburgh or Dantzic. The load of public and private debt, therefore, and the high prices incident to great opulence and an advanced state of civilisation, must always operate with much more severity upon the cultivator in an old commercial state, than upon the manufacturer, and, consequently, there is much more reason for contend-

ing that the latter should be exposed to free competition with foreigners than the former.

Holding it, therefore, as clear, that the manufactures raised for the export sale are not a half of those which are consumed in the home market, the question comes to be, even with reference to the interests of the manufacturing classes themselves—Is it wise or prudent to force on a change which may seriously affect the prosperity of those classes whose productive industry constitutes the main-spring from which the wealth is obtained, by which these manufactures for the home market are purchased? Is it prudent to advocate measures which may extend the market for that class of our manufacturers who produce forty-eight millions' worth of goods, by levelling a deadly blow at the interests of those classes who take off a hundred millions a-year worth of goods? Considered merely as a matter of pounds, shillings, and pence, as a calculation of profit and loss, it is surely an unwise thing to attempt to push the lesser market at the expense of the greater—to seek to extend a distant market of half the dimensions, by crippling a nearer one of double.

But the case becomes incomparably stronger, and, in fact, altogether invincible, when it is recollected what is the difference between the description of *persons* who constitute the foreign and compose the home market. The foreign market is, in great part, composed of individuals owing allegiance to independent potentates, and who either have been, or may become, our inveterate enemies. The home market is made up of our own countrymen, brothers, and friends, the bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh—the si-

news of the state, by whom its independence is to be maintained against foreign invasion, and its prosperity secured against domestic calamity. What will the operatives of Birmingham, Manchester, or Glasgow, gain by doubling the growth of corn in Poland, Prussia, or the Ukraine? Nothing but this, that they will augment the resources and revenue of the Czar, who wields at his pleasure the whole power both of Russia, Poland, and Prussia, and enable him to pursue, with increased advantages, any designs against the prosperity of this country and the independence of Europe? What will they gain by crippling the agricultural resources of England, and impoverishing, more or less, five-sixths of its inhabitants, who now depend, directly or indirectly, upon the two hundred and fifty millions' worth a-year of wealth created by its agricultural labourers? What but that they will essentially weaken and depress every branch of the community; diminish the best and most profitable market for their own industry; augment the weight of the national and parochial burdens, which, in default of the landed interest, must be borne by themselves, as the producers of its manufacturing wealth; and disable the state from maintaining that contest for its own, and the general independence of Europe, with the Colossus of northern ambition, which every one sees is fast approaching?

In truth, more momentous considerations than even those of national wealth or prosperity depend upon the vital question which is now at issue between the manufacturing and agricultural classes. The national independence—the national existence—is at stake. It requires little penetration, indeed, to perceive that

the general peace which we have so long enjoyed, is not destined to be of very long endurance; and that a contest, possibly as serious and protracted as that with Napoleon, awaits us with the power which has already arrayed more than half of Europe under its influence. Few will contest the reality of this danger, since the aggressions and ceaseless strides of Russia are the subject of general and well-founded apprehension. What, therefore, can be so hazardous, it may almost be added, so insane, as to forfeit the national independence at so critical a moment, by throwing ourselves upon the mercy of foreign states for the purchase of bread? It was a maxim with the Romans, "*Salus populi suprema lex.*" Every consideration must yield to the paramount necessity of providing for the *subsistence* of the people. At present that subsistence is amply provided for, as the unparalleled low prices of the six years preceding 1836 demonstrate, by the efforts of our own agriculturists, protected by the operation of the Corn Laws. Having secured, then, this inestimable blessing from a source within ourselves, and independent of the caprice or jealousies of extraneous powers, what can be so imprudent as to risk it again to the mercy of foreign states, the chances of the winds and the waves, or the still more uncertain results of political combinations?

But the impolicy of such a proceeding becomes still more apparent, when it is recollected that the power at whose mercy we are so desirous to place ourselves, in this vital article of national subsistence, is the very power whose hostility, at the same time, we have so much cause to apprehend—against whom the national

passion is at this time strongly arousing, and between whom and this country a more permanent cause of variance is to be found in the opposite tendency of their national interests. Poland, Prussia, the Ukraine, are all, in fact, provinces of Russia—they all equally take the law from the Cabinet of Saint Petersburg. Odessa, Dantzic, Memel, and Riga, are alike Russian harbours. Yet these are precisely the ports from which our supply of grain must inevitably be obtained, if we throw open our ports to foreign competition. The provinces from which we will almost exclusively obtain our food, will be those that wait at the beck of the Emperor Nicholas. To the permanent ambition of the Russian Cabinet, the British possessions in India afford an attractive object of desire; to the jealousy and apprehensions of their despotic government, our free institutions and unrestrained press are a constant subject of disquietude. Every thing, therefore, both in political combination and national interest, conspires to indicate that the seeds of permanent rival hostility between the British and Muscovite empires have not only been sown, but are already fast springing to maturity. And yet it is at the very moment that this fact has become clearly apparent to the inhabitants of both countries, that the infatuated manufacturers of England propose to place their necks under the feet of their formidable rival, by placing in his hand the keys of the granary from which they are to be fed. With what joy would the measure be hailed in the salons of St Petersburg! How rapidly would all apprehensions of the British power vanish before the effects of this one suicidal act! Vain, then, would be the prowess of the British

arms—vain the recollections of their former glory! Without fitting out one ship of the line—without raising one hostile banner, the Emperor of Russia would easily beat down the once dreaded power and independence of England. By simply closing his harbours, by shutting up the granaries of Dantzic and Hamburg, he would speedily starve us into submission. The populace of Great Britain, deprived of their wonted supply of bread, would become ungovernable, and submission soon be felt to be a matter of necessity. Can we, who, with our eyes open, propose to do such things, blame the Carthaginians who first surrendered their galleys and arms to the Roman generals, and then, when the legions were encamped around their walls, found themselves without weapons to withstand their inveterate enemy, and perished through the impotence they themselves had created?

Nor is there the slightest foundation for the opinion which is sometimes entertained, even by well-informed persons, that such is the magnitude of our manufacturing population, that the supply of the country with foreign grain has been, or soon will become, a matter of necessity; and that the evils which have now been described, however great, are unavoidable. It appears, from the table quoted below, * that there were,

	Acres Cultivated.	Acres. Uncultivated.	Acres. Unprofitable.	Summary.
* England, -	25,632,000	3,454,000	3,256,400	32,342,400
Wales, -	3,117,000	530,000	1,105,000	4,752,000
Scotland, -	5,265,000	5,950,000	8,523,930	19,738,930
Ireland, -	12,125,280	4,900,000	2,416,664	19,441,944
British Islands,	383,690	166,000	569,469	1,119,159
	46,522,970	15,000,000	15,871,463	77,394,433

—Porter's Progress of the Nation, i. 177.

in 1827, 46,500,000 arable acres cultivated in Great Britain and Ireland, and 15,000,000 uncultivated, but capable of improvement, being, as nearly as possible, two acres under cultivation to each inhabitant. The average produce of each cultivated acre may be taken in grain, or other subsistence equally or more nutritious than grain, at two quarters. The total amount of the subsistence that might be raised in the forty-six millions of acres would be ninety-two millions of quarters. A considerable proportion of this produce doubtless is consumed by the horses, which, by the latest return, amount to nearly fifteen hundred thousand in the United Empire; and Arthur Young calculates that each horse consumes as much food as eight men, or about eight quarters, a quarter to each human being forming the average consumption for the whole year. At this rate the horses would consume subsistence to about the amount of twelve millions of quarters a-year; and supposing that double this amount, or twenty-four millions of quarters is required for the cows, butcher-meat, &c. there would still remain land capable of producing nearly sixty millions of quarters a-year, at the very moderate rate of two quarters, or sixteen bushels, an acre. This would maintain nearly three times the present population of five-and-twenty millions in the United Empire, without taking into view the probable cultivation of the fifteen millions of acres of waste lands not yet reclaimed, or the probable improvements in agriculture, which, especially by the introduction of draining, may be reasonably expected to add at least a half to the assumed estimate of two quarters or four bolls to an acre. Nothing, therefore, seems more reason-

able than to hold that the British Islands contain within themselves the means of maintaining in comfort at least triple their present population; and consequently, all arguments drawn from the supposed impossibility of adequately maintaining our population from our own agricultural produce, or of the inhabitants soon approaching the limits assigned to the increasing subsistence, are perfectly chimerical and absurd. While, on the other hand, these facts demonstrate that at least triple the amount of subsistence may be extracted from the soil of the British Islands than is at present obtained, and, consequently, triple the vent for our manufactures obtained in the home market from that which is at present afforded, and which even now, in its comparatively infantine state, takes off a hundred millions sterling worth of our home fabrics, being double the amount of our whole foreign exports. What, therefore, can be so unwise as to run the risk of injuring an interest capable of such prodigious extension, and on which such enormous classes are dependent, which is, withal, entirely within ourselves, and beyond the reach of foreign jealousy or attack, for one of far inferior amount, held by an infinitely more precarious tenure, and susceptible of a much less considerable extension.

But, almost boundless as is the capability of increase in British agriculture, it cannot be denied that it is necessarily liable to considerable variations of price, and that the vicissitudes of the seasons, incident to a wet and unpropitious climate, must frequently occasion years of scarcity, and possibly, at times, bring about long-continued want, which may border upon famine if the resources of domestic agriculture alone

were to be relied on by the people. It is of essential importance, therefore, that some means should exist to provide against the vicissitudes of price peculiarly severe to a dense population, to which all latitudes, and more especially all northern latitudes, are subject. It is here that the beneficial effect of the present Corn Law becomes apparent; and it is by *its* operation that a permanent granary is provided for the subsistence of the people in periods when the home supply has, from unfavourable seasons, proved deficient, and, when but for its operation, no such resource could have existed. Under the present law, by which the duty on foreign grain, so heavy as to amount to a prohibition when wheat is between fifty and sixty shillings a quarter, declines rapidly, till at seventy-two shillings a quarter it becomes merely nominal, a certain reserve of foreign grain is provided in the bonded warehouses of the kingdom, which at once becomes available in the event of prices rising to that level, and renders it almost impossible, at least when the foreign harbours are open, for them to rise much above it. Speculators purchase up grain largely on the continent during years of plenty, and store them in the British bonded warehouses, in anticipation of the rise of prices on the first unfavourable season. There the ample store lies innocuous to the British farmer during seasons of prosperity, when its aid is not required by the British consumer; but no sooner does the expected period of adversity arrive, than it issues forth in vast quantities to avert the calamity, and diffuse the stream of plenty through every village and hamlet in the realm. Decisive proof was afforded of this highly important effect of the Corn

Law during the last three months of 1838, in the commencement of which the prices rose to seventy shillings a quarter, from the continued rains and bad harvest of the preceding autumn, but were immediately checked by the overflow of foreign grain from the bonded stores, and rapidly reduced, first to sixty-six, and subsequently to sixty-two shillings a quarter.

And it is particularly worthy of observation, that this fortunate effect *could not possibly have taken place if an unrestricted trade in corn had existed;* and that it is the creation of the Corn Law, and the Corn Law alone. If a free importation of grain were permitted between Great Britain and the continent, these great bonded reservoirs of grain in the British harbours would not exist. Food would be provided for a large part of our population by the foreign, instead of the British cultivators; the temptation of sale, at a present profit, would prove irresistible to the foreign importer; and the British warehouses of Dantzic wheat would be emptied as rapidly upon the first rise of prices as the barn-yards of the British cultivators. The home supply being greatly diminished, and the foreign proportionally augmented, the average supply would just be about equal to the average demand, and no reserve store would be accumulated in any quarter to supply the wants of the people in seasons of scarcity. But while a free importation of grain could not provide, such a reserve store, for the same reason that it cannot be provided by the domestic growers in the British islands, it is effectually secured by the present Corn Law; which, prohibiting importation in ordinary seasons, yet permits any quantity of foreign grain to be stored up in our bonded warehouses, and thus per-

mits the surplus produce of the continent, in years of plenty, to be set apart as a reserve for the British population in periods of scarcity. We have recently reaped the full benefit of this wise provision; scarcity, perhaps famine, were staring us in the face, when they were averted by the fund which legislative wisdom had provided; and, while the manufacturers were clamouring for a repeal of the Corn Laws, they were indebted to those very laws, and to them alone, for the rescuing of themselves and their families from want during the next twelve-months. The Roman emperors, aware of the danger arising from the destruction of Italian agriculture, under the effects of unrestrained foreign importation, were careful to provide, at the public expense, vast granaries for the support of the people in periods of scarcity; but great as were the resources at the command of the Imperial government, they often proved inadequate to the Herculean task of purveying to the wants of a numerous population. That which the power of the emperor strove in vain to effect, the wisdom of the British Legislature has effectually obtained; the resources of the state are no longer required for the mighty undertaking, but the certain purveyor, even for five-and-twenty millions of human beings, is found in the enterprising body of merchants whom the desire of private gain has led into the paths of public good.

The four years terminating with 1835 were years of extraordinary, it may be almost said, unprecedented agricultural plenty. The harvests during this whole period were so fine, that not only was the agricultural produce of the British islands adequate to the

maintenance of its inhabitants, but the accumulated surplus produce of each of these years was stored up, in the hopes of better prices, until, in the year 1835, the average price of wheat fell to thirty-nine shillings and eightpence the quarter; considerably lower than it had been for sixty years. The price of wheat during all these periods varied from forty to sixty shillings a quarter; and as the highest of these prices was greatly below that at which foreign grain is admitted at a nominal duty, of course, there was no importation of grain, at least, for home consumption, or such as could get out of the bonded warehouses; the Corn Laws were in full and unrestricted operation, and the nation felt emphatically both the evils and benefits arising from that state of things. This, therefore, was a period, according to the argument of the opponents of the Corn Laws, when commercial distress should have been most severely felt —when the stoppage of the import of foreign grain should have proved a fatal bar to the progress of our manufacturing export; and the industry of our operatives, shackled by the inability of foreign cultivators to purchase their commodity, should have suffered a severe and accumulating depression.

Was this the case? Did the manufactures of the country, during these four years, progressively decline? Did the diminution of our imports indicate that the prosperity of our own agriculture, and the stringent exclusion of the laws for its protection, were operating prejudicially upon the consumption of the nation, and particularly of the commercial classes— and did the progressive falling off of our exports show how materially our commercial prosperity was de-

pendent upon the sacrifice of our own cultivators to those of foreign states? Let the returns for these years speak for themselves: they require no comment.*

Thus it appears that, so far from our exports and imports decreasing, during these years of increasing domestic agricultural produce and stringent Corn-Law exclusion, they were continually increasing, and that immediately after wheat had been at the unprecedented low rate of 39s. 8d. a-quarter, our exports had reached the unparalleled amount of L. 85,000,000, and our imports of L. 57,000,000.

These facts, inexplicable on the principles of the Anti-Corn-Law advocates, can be perfectly explained upon the plainest reasons flowing from the mutual dependence of every class in society upon its neighbour in civilized life. When agricultural produce is plentifully raised by domestic cultivators, and the price is in consequence low while the produce is great, every class of society is materially and simultaneously benefited. The manufacturers, the shopkeepers, and the whole inhabitants of towns, feel the benefit of this state of matters in the plentiful supply of provisions, and the cheap rate at which they are able to obtain the necessaries of life. An unusually large proportion of their earnings can thus be afforded for its

	Exports.	Imports.	Average price of Wheat per Quarter.
* 1832—	L. 65,026,000	L. 44,586,000	58s. 8d.
1833—	69,989,000	45,952,000	52s. 11d.
1834—	73,831,000	49,362,000	46s. 2d.
1835—	78,376,000	48,911,000	39s. 4d.
1836—	85,229,000	57,023,000	48s. 10d.

—Porter's Progress of the Nation, ii. 98; and Jacob's Prices, iii. 41.

gratifications. If, in consequence of fine seasons, the quartern loaf falls from tenpence to sevenpence, and the price of beef from ninepence to fivepence, the whole difference between these sums remains at the disposal of the consuming classes of society. Experience proves that very little of the money thus saved upon the necessaries of life is stored up in the form of capital, so as to be withdrawn from circulation. By far the greater proportion of it is employed in the purchase of the luxuries or conveniences of life. There cannot be a doubt that fine seasons, from the cheap rate of provisions, puts above thirty or forty millions a-year at the disposal of the consuming classes of society, nine-tenths at least of which is laid out in the purchase of manufactures. It may safely be affirmed, that one fine autumnal month would at once bring round the manufactures of this country, from the lowest state of depression to comparative affluence. Adam Smith was never more correct than when he said, that the home trade of every country is worth all the foreign trade put together.

Nor is it a less important effect of such seasons of agricultural plenty upon the manufacturing interests, that the greater part of the quickened incitement to industry which thus exists, is felt at home, and that not only is but little of it shared with foreign states, but the ruinous *drain upon the metallic treasures* of the country is completely stopped. This is a matter, as recent experience has proved, of the very highest importance. All classes of society being at their ease in so far as subsistence is concerned, there is an universal disposition to accommodate, to expand rather

than contract purchases, and to extend rather than diminish credit. The effect of such a state of things, in a commercial community, dependent almost entirely upon that most sensitive of created things, credit, is incalculable. Bankers, finding their profitable transactions daily increasing, and a general feeling of security pervading all classes, become liberal in their advances; and hence the universal prosperity which immediately ensues. Such was the effect of these causes, operating for four or five successive years, that in spite of all the paralysis to credit, which at the commencement of the period resulted from reform agitation, not only was Government enabled to remit taxes to the amount of about six millions sterling; but the revenue, so far from exhibiting, as it now does, a considerable deficit, showed a surplus, not large indeed, but still perceptible, of from five hundred thousand to a million sterling a-year.*

It is perhaps the most important effect of such a state of things, that it thus effectually prevents that ruinous export of the precious metals to foreign states which experience has proved to be so extremely detrimental to all, but especially the commercial interests of the empire. The necessaries of life being extremely cheap at home, there is no drain of specie to purchase subsistence abroad, and thus our export trade, how great soever, is carried on chiefly with

* Taxes remitted. Annual surplus of revenue.

1832—	L. 747,000	- -	L. 5,696
1833—	1,000,000	- -	1,023,784
1834—	1,200,000	- -	1,776,378
1835—	480,000	- -	1,270,050
1836—	200,000	- -	1,590,727

—Porter's Progress of Nation, ii. 296.

those countries, and for those articles for which the export of our manufactures only is required; the ruinous exchange of specie for imported grain being stopped, mercantile speculation takes the more natural and salutary direction of exchanging the luxuries of British manufacture for the luxuries of foreign growth; and thus, while the home market is rendered ample by the vast surplus funds at the disposal of the consumers, the foreign trade is rendered at once safe and productive, by being turned into channels which exchange production against production, not gold against grain.

"It has been proved, that the nations from whom we import grain will not receive in return our manufactures, and will take nothing but gold in exchange for their grain; whereas those from whom we import luxuries that we do not ourselves raise, are quite willing to take our manufactures. Who are the nations from whom we must purchase grain? Being a bulky article, it will not bear, unless the prices are extravagantly high, sea-carriage from any great distance; and we must, therefore, draw our supplies from the neighbouring states. Poland, Prussia, and the southern provinces of Russia, constitute the great granaries from which our foreign supplies have always been derived; and from which, in particular, during the great scarcity of 1838, by far the greater part of our important subsistence was obtained. But these states will not take our manufactures off our hands, nor would they do so even if we were to repeal our Corn Laws. The reason is obvious. They are actuated by an indelible jealousy of our manufacturing greatness; and they are under the influence of men who are de-

termined, at all hazards, to rival us in those industrial establishments in which we have so long taken the lead, but in which they think they can now, by a rigid system of exclusion, effectually extinguish our superiority. Of this they have given a decisive proof in the vital point of the navigation laws; for while we, seventeen years ago, repealed those laws, and thereby seriously injured our own commercial navy employed in the intercourse with these states, they have not only done nothing to diminish the duties on any one branch of British produce, but have gone on continually increasing them; so that our exports to the northern states of Europe are now less than they were eight-and-thirty years ago. They would willingly establish, indeed, a reciprocity treaty in regard to grain as they did in regard to shipping; that is to say, they will admit our grain on the same terms on which we admit their grain. But will they establish a treaty admitting our cotton and iron goods without duty, in consideration of our admitting their grain without duty? Let the Prusso-Germanic League form the answer, by which, in consideration of the English having taken off all the restrictions on the entrance of foreign shipping into their harbours, Prussia imposed a discriminating duty on every article of British manufacture, which practically amounted to fifty per cent.

The countries, on the other hand, with whom we carry on a great commercial trade in mutual luxuries, America, the West Indies, the East Indies, Brazil, Australia, Canada, Turkey, Italy, &c. are actuated by no such jealousy of our manufacturing industry, and by no such political hostility or commercial rivalry;

for this simple reason, that they lie in a *different latitude* from ourselves, and consequently their industry is directed to totally different objects. Our cotton and iron establishments are no subjects of jealousy to them; for they are intent upon the production of wheat or cotton, of tea or sugar, of wine or fruits, of oil or spices, of coffee or tobacco. The greater or more prosperous our manufactures are, the better for them; because they are thereby enabled to obtain the manufactured articles they required from Europe at a cheaper rate; while they, on the other hand, secure a larger vent for their own produce. Hence these distant nations impose hardly any duties upon our manufactures, but they take them off our hands as largely as we can furnish them; whereas the European states, from whom we are compelled to buy grain, being in the same latitude with ourselves, and actuated by national or commercial jealousy, cannot be induced by any consideration to relax their enormous duties upon all our manufactured articles. And of such vital importance is this consideration in the present question, and so vast its effect upon our manufacturing exports to distant parts of the world, that while every inhabitant of America, as already shown, consumes nineteen shillings and sixpence worth of British manufactures,—of the West Indies, three pounds ten shillings' worth,—and of Australia, eleven pounds' worth,—every inhabitant of Prussia takes off only threepence worth of British manufactures, and of Russia only sixpence worth! And this is the reason why a great export of our manufactures, in seasons of agricultural plenty, and corresponding import of luxuries, is attended with no drain upon the banks, and no shake to commercial

credit; while a great importation of foreign grain, consequent on a bad season, being necessarily paid for in specie, is immediately attended with both the one and the other.

Let us turn now to the bad seasons that have occurred since 1836, which have led for a considerable time to a practical repeal of the Corn Laws, and immense importation of foreign grain, and see whether experience has proved the results which the opponents of the Corn Laws uniformly anticipate from the large importation of grain, and whether it would be safe for the nation, especially with reference to its commercial interest, to go on permanently with that system of importation of foreign grain, which was forced upon us by the bad harvests of 1838 and 1839.

The harvest of 1836 first broke in upon the long train of fine seasons. The rains in the autumn of that year, as every body recollects, especially in Scotland, were incessant; the prices, in consequence, rose considerably; and although the harvest of 1837 was somewhat better, yet those of 1838 and 1839 were so deficient as to have given the nation a full specimen of the blessings to be expected from an unrestricted trade in grain. The harvests of the former of these years were so very bad, that the prices rose rapidly till the beginning of December 1838, when the ports were opened, and immediately such a prodigious deluge of foreign grain was admitted, that, as is well known, upwards of six millions in sovereigns were drawn out of the bank to pay for it; and although the prices are now not so high, in consequence of the harvest of 1839 being not quite so disastrous, yet they are still sufficiently elevated to admit of a very great

speculation in grain, and a large importation into the bonded warehouses. The average price of the week ending 6th March 1840, being sixty shillings and elevenpence a quarter for wheat, and twenty-five shillings and twopence for oats—prices which, though not high enough to admit the free issue of grain from the bonded warehouses, are yet sufficient to have kept up a great speculation in grain stored in these warehouses, and consequently drained away, to a large extent, the specie of the country. And what has been the result? Wide-spread commercial depression. The manufacturing distress which had existed for the last two years, though not accompanied with the general panic of the great disaster of 1825, has been far more hurtful to general industry, and felt far more acutely by the productive classes of the community. There is no man acquainted with commerce, in any of the great commercial emporiums of the kingdom, who can doubt that this has been the case, and that ever since spring 1837, has been a period of almost uninterrupted and wide-spread commercial embarrassment. To those engaged in, or connected with commercial pursuits, all proof of this is unhappily superfluous. To those who are not, a glance at the instructive returns in the note, will amply demonstrate how seriously the national resources have been impaired by the combination of an extensive importation of foreign grain, with commercial distress during the last three disastrous years.*

Now, admitting that the commercial crash in America, in the close of 1836 and beginning of 1837, was

* Deficit, 1837, . £. 726,000
1838, . 440,000
1839, . 1,512,000
—Parl. Papers, Feb. 14, 1840.

the immediate cause of the great commercial suffering of the year 1837 in the British islands; what is it that has occasioned the far greater and far longer widespread distress of 1838 and 1839? Evidently, the great drain of specie in the end of 1838 and spring of 1839, amounting to above six millions sterling, which took place for the importation of foreign grain. Every farthing's worth of this grain had to be purchased in specie, for such was the effect of the onerous duties on British manufactures in Russia and Prussia, that the holders of grain would take no part of its price in British manufactures. The result was, that the drain set in so severely upon the Bank of England for specie to carry on this lucrative trade in foreign grain, that the stock of bullion and specie in their coffers was reduced in a few months from eight millions five hundred thousand, to two millions five hundred thousand sovereigns—that to avert bankruptcy, they were obliged, for the first time, to open a credit with the Bank of France, in order to provide the necessary funds to meet the incessant demand for cash at their establishment; and that between the immediate advances for grain, and the repayment of the sums borrowed from the Bank of France, not less than *ten millions sterling* in specie has been drawn from this country within less than fifteen months.

The effects of this prodigious drain have been felt with extreme severity in every part of the civilized world. At home it immediately compelled the Bank to take defensive measures for their own security, both by restricting the circulation, and more effectually drawing in their advances to other Banks, and discount of bills. All other banking establishments

throughout the country, of course, immediately followed the example. Money quickly became scarce; credit was abridged or suspended; bankruptcies speedily followed among the least opulent portion of the trading community, and that universal distrust and anxiety ensued which is at once the consequence and the cause of public distress.

On the other side of the Atlantic the effects were still more disastrous. The British merchants, driven to extremities themselves, were obliged to demand payment from their American correspondents of the large balances due to them since the year 1837; the United States Bank—the National Bank of America—stopped payment; every banking establishment in the Southern States followed the example; and although those of New York contrived to avoid coming to that extremity, yet they have done so only by refusing credit, and thence innumerable bankruptcies.—The almost total destruction of American credit has shaken that of even the greatest capitalists at home, while the inability of a large portion of the American consumers, to continue their wonted purchases, has seriously affected the demand for our manufacturing industry among our best customers—who heretofore have taken above twelve millions' worth of our manufactured produce annually off our hands, being now unable to take more than half that amount.*

These results, occurring within the short period of

* Exports to United States:—

1835,	L.10,568,455	1837,	L.4,695,225
1836,	12,425,604	1838,	7,585,760

—Parliamentary Papers, 27th May 1840.

eight years, and illustrating the opposite effects of the system which they decry and that for which they contend, are decisive against the arguments of the opponents of agricultural protection. In the first four years are to be seen plentiful harvests, abundance of provisions, a rigid exclusion of foreign importation, accompanied by the very highest degree of commercial and manufacturing prosperity. In the latter, a forcible repeal of the Corn Laws, occasioned by the badness of the seasons, which opened the ports—an immense importation of foreign grain, and the fullest experiment, upon a large scale, of the effects to be anticipated from a free importation of subsistence. The consequences have been high prices—a general depression of the home market for our manufactures—commercial distress unsurpassed even in this age of vicissitudes, and a narrow escape from national bankruptcy.

If we would figure to ourselves, therefore, what must be the result of a repeal of the Corn Laws, we have but to imagine *the commercial state of* 1838 *and* 1839, *perpetuated amongst us.* We have only to figure six or eight millions of specie a-year drained annually from the nation to purchase foreign grain—the screw perpetually applied by the Bank of England to the currency in order to enable them to withstand this pressure,—every subordinate bank in the kingdom contracting their issues and pressing their customers for payment of the balances or bills due by them—distress and anxiety universal among the trading classes—the revenue constantly falling from the progressive decline of exports and imports—and new taxes upon comforts or necessaries of life imposed or

threatened, in order to fill up the yawning deficits of the Exchequer, and we shall have a lively picture of the blessings which we may anticipate from the complete realization of all the projects of the opponents of the Corn Laws. It is in vain to say that these anticipations are chimerical or exaggerated: they have been realized to the letter by the experience of the last two years; hundreds on hundreds of the anti-Corn-Law clamourers have been reduced to bankruptcy; hundreds of thousands of the multitude whom they strove to delude have been landed in the workhouse.

It is no answer to these observations to say, that a commercial crisis like that of 1839, though it was doubtless owing to the bad harvest of the preceding year, which caused all the specie to be drained out of the country for the purchase of foreign grain, is not to be considered as a natural or necessary attendant upon a free trade in corn; but that, on the contrary, if we would take off our duties on foreign grain, those countries would take off their duties on British manufactures; and that thus the commerce, beneficial to both sides, would take place by an exchange of commodities, without that excessive drain on specie which has recently been felt as so distressing. Before the opponents of the Corn Laws have a right to *assume* that such will be the case, they are bound to show that a similar relaxation of foreign duties, in return for British concessions, *has taken place* in regard to other articles where the reciprocity system has been tried. Has experience proved that this has been the case? We repealed the Navigation law, and established the reciprocity system in February 1823. Have one of the nations, benefited by that great change,

relaxed a single iota of their duties upon our manufactures? Have they not all, on the contrary, increased them, insomuch that the nations, who have been benefited the most largely in their shipping by our concessions, have contrived almost entirely to exterminate our exports in manufactures to their people.* We introduced the free-trade system, and lowered the duties on a great variety of articles of foreign manufacture—on French silks, French clocks, French wines, foreign fruits, and almost all the luxuries of foreign manufacture. Have they, in a single instance, relaxed one shilling of their duties upon our goods, in which we have the advantage of them, and in regard to which, consequently, a real reciprocity might be established? Not one.—What ground, therefore, is there for supposing that the same men, who have obstinately refused for seventeen years to make even the smallest relaxation of their duties on British manufactured produce, in consequence of our prostrating the safeguards of British industry at their feet, are to make any change in their system, hitherto so steadily adhered to, in regard to the matter of the corn trade? And would it not be well to see some realization of our expectations of a reduction of duties on British manufactured goods, in return for our repeal of the Navigation laws, and the establishment of the free-

* The immediate effect of the Prussian Commercial League was the total exclusion from the harbours of the league of foreign coarser and commoner manufactures, of which a complete monopoly has been created in favour of the home produce. The protecting duty is so high as to prevent importation. It has gradually supplanted many of the coarser fabrics of Great Britain in the German markets, even in cases where the difference of price and quality is considerably in favour of British goods. The shifting of the demand from the foreign to the native fabrics is everywhere conspicuous.—Bowring's Report, 53.

trade system, before we adventure upon the more perilous and decisive step of placing the national subsistence in their hands?

The cause is perfectly apparent which has hitherto prevented, and will continue to prevent, the governments of continental Europe from making the smallest relaxation in their burdens on British manufactured produce, in return for any concessions we have made, or may make to them. Being situated nearly in the same latitude with ourselves, their manufactured productions are, for the most part, the same as ours, and they are all making the most strenuous efforts to rival us in every department of mechanical skill. Though considerably behind our manufacturers in many important particulars, especially in the amount or price of fuel at their command, and the perfection of the machinery which they can obtain, yet there are other respects in which they have decidedly the advantage; among which, the water-power in some places, the cheapness of labour in others, and the absence of trades-unions and strikes in all, are some of the most conspicuous. Their rulers, therefore, are persuaded, that, by continuing the prohibitive system for ten or twenty years longer, they will be able completely to rival British manufacturing skill; whereas, by opening the doors of free competition just now, immediate ruin of their numerous and promising establishments would ensue. Their governments are thoroughly imbued with the same principles; they consider the prohibitory system as having been the nursery which raised British manufacturing industry to its present pitch of greatness; and to the extent and grandeur of British manufactures, they justly as-

cribe the political pre-eminence which this country has long enjoyed. Regarding, as they do, commerce and manufactures as the bases of national wealth, they are fixed in their determination to admit nothing to interfere with the system destined for their protection. No relaxation or abandonment of British duties on foreign grain, would induce them for one moment to diminish their duties on British manufactures. Their principle is, that agriculture can stand upon its own basis; but that manufactures, especially before they have attained their full maturity, require the fostering encouragement of fiscal protection. We have seen this strongly exemplified in the case of France, the government of which has never taken off anything worth mentioning, in the duties on British manufactures, although we have reduced the duties on their wines above fifty per cent.

But farther, is it not plain that the only effect of abolishing the protecting duty on corn would be, *even if they did consent to take our manufactures*, to transfer the purchase of these manufactures from home growers of grain to foreign growers, without making any addition to the sum-total of the demand for the manufacturing produce of the nation? If the annual consumption of grain by the present inhabitants of Great Britain is thirty millions of quarters, which is probably not far from the mark, and that for some years prior to the disastrous harvest of 1838, this amount has been yearly raised by the agricultural cultivators of the united empire, what benefit would accrue to the British manufacturers by having the production of a half, or a third of this produce transferred from British to foreign growers? Would their

condition be improved—would the market for their produce be increased—if, instead of the whole thirty millions being raised by the farmers of Great Britain and Ireland, a third of it were to be transferred to the farmers of Poland and the Ukraine? Would not the former set of cultivators, our own fellow-countrymen and brethren, be as much injured as the latter, our aliens and enemies, would be benefited?

But the case is infinitely stronger than this; for the preceding comparison proceeds on the supposition, that the "new world" of agricultural cultivators who are to be "called into existence" on the continent, to supply the race of the old cultivators exterminated in the British islands, will consume as large a portion of British manufactures, as their predecessors who now flourish on the banks of the Thames, the Tay, or the Shannon. But it is utterly impossible that this effect can take place; and nothing can be clearer, than that any extension of the market for our manufactures, in consequence of the enlarged growth of grain on the banks of the Vistula or the Volga, would be a perfect trifle in comparison of that which would be lost by the cessation of the production of grain to the same amount in the British islands. The great consumption of our manufactures in the home market, has been owing to the enjoyment of freedom, affluence, and comfort, by the working-classes, for many centuries; and at least as many centuries, and as much freedom and prosperity, will be requisite to bring the Polish or Russian peasants to a similar level, or capacity of enjoyment. Artificial wants among the masses of the people, are of the slowest possible growth, even in the most favoured circumstances. To suppose that they

will ever extend to any considerable degree under the present villanage system of Poland and Russia, is, of all absurdities, the most extravagant. The idea that a Polish peasant, who now takes nothing but rye-bread and water, who inhabits a clay-built cottage with an earthen floor, and is clothed in the coarse woollens of his own country, is to replace or compensate the loss of the Norfolk, the East Lothian, or the Carse of Gowrie farmer in the consumption of British manufactures, is perfectly ridiculous. No man now alive would see any material change in the habits of the Polish or Ukraine peasants, or in the amount of our exports for their consumption. Whatever was gained by the importation of foreign grain into the British harbours, at the expense of the British cultivators, would accrue to the benefit of the Polish and Russian landholders, and they would expend it upon the manufactures of their own country, or the dissipation of Paris or Naples, leaving scarce a perceptible fraction to be diverted to the encouragement of British industry.

A zealous anti-corn-law advocate, Dr Bowring, has, in the course of his late mission from Government to examine into the effect of the Prusso-Germanic League, collected information of the most decisive tendency against the probability of the freest corn trade opening any considerable market for our manufacturing industry among the agricultural inhabitants of the corn-growing countries. From the evidence he has obtained, it appears that the peasants of the states adjoining the Baltic consume so little manufactures of any kind, that very little is to be

gained, even by the freest liberty of exporting British manufactures to them.*

The true policy of Britain, therefore, both in regard to commerce and agriculture, is clearly marked out. It consists in three great maxims; agricultural protection, to secure the independence and support the interests of the great bulk of the people, and create sources of wealth in the heart of the empire; colonial encouragement, to afford a vent for its growing numbers, and extend the market for its manufacturing industry, in quarters where no rivalry to that in the heart of the empire is to be dreaded; and the maintenance of a powerful navy, at once to form the highways across the deep, which are necessary to cement the various parts of this immense dominion, and furnish adequate protection and security to its remote dependencies. To assert that these principles, so obviously recommended, both by principle and experience, will insure a permanent or even a lengthened existence to so vast an empire, would be to go farther than human foresight can venture on the chequered depths of futurity; and he must be blind, indeed, who does not perceive that a dominion so wide-spread and powerful, must be subject to causes of vicissitude and sources of danger, increasing yearly with its extension,

* Sugar consumed,

	Great Britain.	State of Prusso-German League.	France.
per head,	17.1 lbs.	3.9 lbs.	4.3 lbs.
Tea,	1 —	¼ of an ounce.	
Salt,	22 —	16¾ lbs.	13½ —
Cotton goods,	9.2 —	4.35 —	
Wool,	4 —	1.67 —	
Woollen cloth,	5¾ ells.	2.17 ells.	
Coal,	10⅛ tons,	1¾ tons.	

Bowring's Report on Prusso-Germanic League, 26, 29.

and which nothing but the most consummate prudence and foresight on the part of its Government can for any considerable period avert. But this much may with confidence be asserted, that it is thus that the obvious duty to themselves and mission of the British race in the world, can alone be reconciled; that when their part on the great theatre of Nature has been performed, and they are to give place to future, and, perhaps, greater actors on the stage, it is thus that a foundation will best be laid for retirement with dignity from the scene; that, with least suffering and most glory, the transition will be effected to a stationary or declining condition, and the best preparation made, in the discharge of present duty, for the final advent of the inevitable hour!

CHAPTER XVII.

ON THE FUTURE INCREASE OF MANKIND.

ARGUMENT.

Mode in which the intentions of Nature in regard to the Increase and Destiny of Mankind are carried into effect—Analogy between the changing desires of the Individual and those of the Species—Progressive changes in society which work out the same system in the social world—Rapid increase in early times—Gradual retardation as society advances—And ultimate stationary condition in its last ages—Exemplified from the history of all nations—Grounds for dispelling all alarms on the subject of the over-increase of Mankind—Origin of the prevailing errors on this subject—From overlooking the progress in human affairs—Examples of the application of these principles in the world at this time—Capacities of increase, existing in the world at this time, for the future growth of Mankind—In Asia, America, Europe, and Australia—Progressive increase in the fertility of the Globe—Boundless capability of yielding food which the ocean contains—Growth of a New Continent from the Coral Islands of the South Seas—No dangers, therefore, to be anticipated from over-increase in any quarter of the Globe—Moral doctrines of Mankind—Provision for the spread of civilisation from the power of Russia in Asia, and the spread of the Anglo-Saxon race in Transmarine Regions—Moving power of the one is the passion for conquest—In the other the desire for Colonization—Which springs from Democratic Feeling—Adaptation of these two moving powers to the great destinies they are ultimately to work out—Approach of the diffusion of Christianity over the Globe by these means—General conclusion.

IN concluding the review of the principles of human increase, it is natural to look forward to THE FUTURE, —to consider the probable destiny of the species in distant ages; and, from the examination of past history, to endeavour to ascertain the laws which are likely to regulate the progress of population in the remote periods of the world. If such speculations are of little practical moment, they are not on that account the

less interesting. The highest privilege of man is to contemplate the works of Nature; and they take a limited view of philosophy, who seek to confine it to subjects of immediate application. To examine the intentions of Providence wherever manifested; to trace the marks of its system amidst the confusion of human affairs; to observe the subjection of passion to the guidance of Supreme Wisdom, is the noblest employment of the soul. "Homo autem ortus est ad mundum contemplandum, imitandum que, haud quidem perfectus, sed quidem particula perfecti."*

In the physical world, the laws of Nature are enforced by the permanent qualities of matter, and the order of the universe remains for ever undisturbed by the agency of animated beings. From the time when the shepherds of Chaldea first watched the movements of the starry firmament, till the period when the theory of astronomy was finally completed by Newton and La Place, the same order and perfection have prevailed in the heavenly bodies, and each has performed in silence its immeasurable course. But in human affairs, the intentions of Nature are obscured by the weakness, or perverted by the crimes of the persons to whom they are intrusted. To whatever cause, the intermixture of good and evil, of virtue and vice, in this world is to be ascribed, it not only chequers the life of every individual with joy and sorrow, but blends the history of the species with prosperity and disaster.

It is in vain, therefore, to expect in the moral world, the order and beauty which reigns in the material. The intervention of passion, the agency

* Cicero, de Nat. Deorum, 46, i. c.

of crime, mar the work of creation : the fatal change which converted a scene of enjoyment into a state of probation, has opened the floodgates of misfortune on the human race. But even amidst the disasters of humanity, the beneficent tendency of the laws of Nature may be discerned ; in the sufferings of the world, a provision is to be seen for their mitigation ; amidst the contentions of the species, a constant tendency to its improvement.

It is by no special interposition of the Divine Power, that those beneficent intentions are effected. The agents in this mighty system, are no other than the human race : the moving power, the unceasing desires of the species. It is by the progressive alterations in these desires that the changes in the moral world are effected ; by their adaptation to the varying circumstances of society, that the tendency to improvement is maintained.

When the individual is brought naked and weeping into the world, his first desires, long prior to the birth of reason, lead him to the course essential to his existence. Within an hour after his birth, he clings to his mother's breast, and draws his first nourishment from the heart which is to protect him : in the first interchange of parental tenderness is laid the foundation of an attachment which death itself cannot dissolve, and which nothing but a woman's heart can feel. The long weakness and dependence of childhood are protected by the endearments and the fascinations of innocence, and during the many years that he can give nothing else in return, the care of his parents is secured by the attachment which he awakens. With the expansion of the physical powers, begin the in-

cessant desire to exercise them; in the ardent restlessness of youth is prepared the growth and development of his bodily frame; in the first instincts which are awakened, the means of providing for his earliest necessities. From the passions of a more advanced age, the great moving principles of existence take their rise; the ambition which is to stimulate to a life of exertion; the knowledge which is to advance the cause of humanity; the labour which is to provide the means of subsistence; the attachments which are to perpetuate the race from which he sprung. In the close of life, with the decay of the physical frame, succeeds the indisposition to exert it; as the span of existence is contracted, the force of its enjoyments is weakened; as a spiritual state of being approaches, the ties which bind to all but intellectual pleasures are diminished.

In all these changes, the individual is conscious of attending to nothing but the gratification of his wishes. The changes in his conduct, like the innovations of time, are so gradual, that he does not perceive it; the variations in his objects of desire so slow, that he is astonished when he finds they have not always been the same. It has been led by an invisible hand, however, at every period of his life, to do that which was most conducive to his individual advantage, and best fitted to render him serviceable to his species.

It is the same with the change in the objects of human desire which mark the progress of nations. Those objects are successively pursued which are calculated at every stage of national progress to adapt the conduct of the individual to the interests of society. It is by the adaptation of these changes to the

varying circumstances of the species, that the progress of improvement and the regulation of population are maintained.*

In the infancy of society, when the feeble race of man seems lost in the immensity of Nature, and an unbounded room for increase is to be found in the deserted tracts which surround him in every direction, passion is unrestrained, and in spite of all the obstacles of his physical situation, the increase of numbers augments his power, and improves his condition. In circumstances where prudence would be useless it is unknown; in situations where the race is in danger of perishing for want of numbers, the unbiassed instincts of his nature incessantly force its multiplication; in periods when restraint upon the principle of increase would be injurious, they do not exist. Nor are such habits inconsistent with the immediate interests of the individuals who indulge them. When the means of accumulating property are unknown, marriage can only be contracted with advantage in the earliest periods; if the weakness of age is added to the burden of an offspring, both parents and children are liable to insurmountable difficulties. The priority of the principle of increase to the desires destined to cause it, is essential alike to the welfare of the individual, and the progress of society; and it is to its unbounded vigour during the infancy of society that the subsequent existence of the species is to be ascribed.

With the extension of the means of subsistence in

* As this chapter is intended to contain a summary of the principles of the whole work, both in reference to the past and the future, and in consequence may be read by many who will not read the remainder, the indulgent reader who has done so will overlook, and perhaps not regret, some obvious repetitions.

the shepherd state, the same rude manners, the same ignorance of artificial wants is to be found. In the simplicity of pastoral life, under the tents of the Arabs, or among the camps of the Tartars, luxury is unknown; natural instinct alone prevails; the increase of the species swells with the growth of the herds on which they live. It is by this prolific tendency of the pastoral tribes that the peopling of the earth has been accomplished; from their wandering habits that the dispersion of mankind has arisen. Even after the lapse of six thousand years the human race might have been still toiling in the plains of Mesopotamia, and slowly extending through the adjoining forests, but for the numbers and enterprise of the inhabitants of the desert, which, bursting the barriers of Nature, have spread the race of men over an uninhabited world. While the descendants of the dwellers in the cities of the plain have hardly expanded beyond the first cradle of mankind, the children of the desert have covered the globe. With the first dawn of history the Cimbri are to be found in the neighbourhood of the Euxine;* and their descendants, after having covered Europe with innumerable swarms, are now spreading in another hemisphere: the arts of Greece, the legions of Rome, the energy of Europe, have successively sprung from the Scythian desert: and to the vigour of the herdsmen who penetrated from the centre of Asia through the wilderness of Europe, the glories of modern civilisation are entirely to be ascribed.

While such are the important consequences which follow the unlimited operation of the principle of increase in the pastoral ages, the division of land, the settlement of mankind, the commencement of the la-

Herodotus.

bours of cultivation, required not less imperiously a rapid increase of the species in the early agricultural state. The immense and apparently insurmountable obstacles which present themselves to the extension of industry on the first cultivation of the earth; the extent of the morasses, the thickness of the forests, the ruggedness of the mountains, forbid the hope of success but from the accumulated force of multitudes. In the first attempts to clear the ground, numbers perish from the unhealthiness of the atmosphere, the severity of the labour, the magnitude of the hardships to which they are exposed. From the narratives of the extreme sufferings undergone by the first settlers in distant colonies in our own times, even with the aid of iron instruments and the arts of civilisation, we may gather what must have been the condition of the human race in remote and now forgotten periods, and learn to appreciate the importance of that continued and resistless tendency to increase, in early times, which forced the infant species through all its difficulties, by the force of numbers supplied the want of knowledge, and even in the most unfavourable circumstances constantly led to its improvement.

With the progress of wealth and the extension of mechanical power the necessity for this incessant increase gradually diminishes. The accumulation of capital augments the force of industry; the increase of knowledge multiplies the powers of invention. From the produce of past labour a continual supply of wealth and subsistence is procured with the exertion of a comparatively slight degree of trouble; from the accumulations of former ages a considerable portion of mankind derive the means of opulence and comfort. It is at this stage of society, accordingly,

that the LIMITATIONS TO POPULATION begin to operate. With the growth of riches commences the influence of artificial wants; by the spread of comfort the standard of competence is raised; with the use of money the power of accumulation is introduced. The original passions of our nature remain, but they are counteracted by the desire for other enjoyments, and restrained from a sense of ultimate advantage. The *power* of doing this arises from the reason which distinguishes man from the lower animals; the *inclination* to do so from the influence of new desires which the progress of society has awakened.

The increase of luxury, the prodigality of the higher orders, accelerate the rate at which the retarding principles operate upon the increase of mankind. The extension of comfort to the middling classes, the elevation of the standard of subsistence in the lower, enlarge the sphere within which their influence is felt. As wealth descends in society, the original unrestrained rate of increase is gradually compressed into a narrower circle, and at length, in favourable political circumstances, entirely disappears. A measured advance of numbers takes place, founded on the interests of the different individuals of whom society is composed, and from the follies of one class the habits arise by which the interests of the other are permanently secured.

From the establishment of the different ranks in society, and the diffusion of *civil liberty*, an equally powerful restraint upon the multiplication of the species arises. The *power* of rising in society speedily engenders the *desire* to do so; the existence of a gradation of rank, accessible to all, operates as a continual incentive to human ambition. All ranks become actuated by the desire to raise themselves to the sphere

above that in which they have been accustomed to live; the dread of descending from it operates as the strongest barrier against imprudent connections. The growth of opulence has a constant tendency to strengthen the force of this principle, by adding links to the chain which unites the lower orders to the higher stations of life. Strong as the principle of increase is, experience proves that it is brought under the rule of justice and freedom, in the progress of society, into an entire state of subjection to these controlling desires; and the advance of population completely regulated by the interests of the different individuals of whom it is composed.

The establishment of freedom, the security of property, the diffusion of education, all tend to increase the force of these limiting principles. Whatever elevates man above the lower animals, whatever is fitted to improve his condition, correct his habits or multiply his enjoyments, adds to the security against an undue increase in his numbers. The restraints upon population are brought into action by the developement of the strongest propensities which are felt by civilized man; they expand with the extension of public happiness; and are strengthened by all the causes which are calculated to alleviate the sum of human misfortune.

As wealth advances, and the means of maintaining an indefinite increase are diminished, another set of causes come into operation, which slowly but certainly arrest the progress of the species. From the extended wants of men arise inland and foreign commerce; capital is gradually withdrawn from the situations where it encourages the greatest quantity of industry, and vested in those where the encourage-

ment is divided with foreign states. At length it overflows on all sides, and seeks in the most circuitous trades, or in loans to distant countries, that profitable employment which it cannot find in the maintenance of domestic industry. The continual fall in the value of money, which results from the multiplication of the circulating medium, arising from the wants of an extended commerce, by augmenting the money price of all articles of consumption, retards the progress of industry, and exposes all classes to a competition with foreign labour; agriculture strives in vain to maintain the struggle with countries in which its produce is more cheaply raised. Manufactures indemnify them by the extension of machinery for the rise in the wages of human industry. Steam engines and wheels come to supply the place of animated beings, and the increase in the produce of manufactures is attended with no corresponding augmentation in the numbers of the species. The growing burdens of government arising from the power of borrowing, and the unlimited credit incident to a state of high commercial prosperity, affect the demand for labour, and retard the progress of population; and the immense addition to the number of animals required for luxury or use, by absorbing more than half the produce of the soil, operates as a perpetual barrier against the approach to the limits assigned to the extension of subsistence.

Nor is it merely against the dangers of an undue augmentation of numbers, that a provision is made by the laws of Nature. To prevent the evils of a *stationary condition* of things, causes still more irresistible are prepared. From the corruption incident to a polish-

ed state of society, from the temptation which wealth affords to poverty, and timidity to enterprise, an incessant provision is made for the renovation of mankind. The fertile and the desert, the opulent and the indigent, parts of the world, are so blended together, that wealth cannot accumulate without being exposed to aggression, nor character decline without leading to overthrow. The active and uncorrupted tribes, the inhabitants of the desert, are for ever the same, and equally ready in the last as the first ages to become the instruments of Supreme Power in cleansing the scene of human corruption. Beneath their desolating hand, "thrones sink to dust and empires melt away;" the growth of ages is buried under the wave of conquest; and a wilderness is left where crowded cities had been. But the disaster, however terrible, is short-lived. The vivifying powers of nature again expand, and human enterprise renews the career of improvement. Amidst the ruins of former magnificence new efforts of industry are commenced; on the great field of nature fresh labourers are seen; and amidst the scanty descendants of a once mighty people, another race is found, active in the pursuit of higher objects, and protected by the influence of more salutary institutions.

Frequently, without the intervention of such terrible catastrophes, the human species becomes stationary, or declines in particular situations, from the mere effect of internal weakness, from changes in the channels of commerce, or seat of empire. Halls once crowded with grandeur are gradually deserted; harbours once thronged with vessels appear totally forsaken; cities once crowded with inhabitants are in-

sensibly depopulated. Mankind appear at times to share in the weakness and old age of individual existence; and empires, at one period the most flourishing, fall into a state of decay, without any sufficient reason appearing for their decline. The vicissitudes of political power, the fluctuations of military success, the changes of commercial prosperity, silently undermine the foundations of national greatness; and without any external shock the fabric of society gradually moulders away. "Had Rome," says Gibbon, "never been conquered by the Goths, the prostration of the empire would not have been less complete than it was before the arms of Alaric; and the Byzantine empire sunk less from the power of Mahomet than from the weakness of its long decline."

Appearances of this sort have led to a very general belief in all ages, that a certain measure of existence is assigned to political associations as well as private men, and that empires, like individuals, have a period of youth, maturity, and decay, which they cannot prolong beyond certain limits. Without pretending to determine whether this is a permanent law of nature, it may safely be affirmed that hitherto at least no exceptions to it have occurred; and that if any state is ever to acquire immortality, it will be from the establishment of those institutions which, by securing in a durable manner the welfare of mankind, supersede the necessity of such violent changes in their number.

From the combined operation of these different causes, the increase of population in the later stages of society is effectually prevented; and, long before the funds for the maintenance of labour have approached their limits, the numbers of mankind are

found to be stationary or retrograde. There is no instance in the history of the world of a country being peopled to its utmost limits, or of the multiplication of the species being checked by the impossibility of extracting an increase of subsistence from the soil. Long before this period could arrive, the retarding principles have begun to operate, and the greatest want experienced in the decline of nations is of that very increase of numbers which at a former period was so much the object of solicitude. The Roman empire was frequently embarrassed by its discontented citizens during the period of its progress; but so early as the time of Augustus, the want of men was experienced, and vain attempts to discourage celibacy were made.* Under the succeeding emperors, the difficulty of recruiting the armies in the southern provinces continually increased, and at length became so great that the legions were almost entirely supplied from the barbarous tribes of the frontier.† During the long decline of the Byzantine empire, the numbers of the people incessantly decreased, while they were fast augmenting in the rising nations of the west;‡ and at this moment, while the pastoral tribes on their frontier are constantly swelling, the human race is rapidly declining through the wide extent of the Ottoman empire.§

Nor are examples wanting in modern times of a similar temporary decrepitude in the powers of Nature. The inhabitants of Spain are incomparably less numerous than they were in former times: innumerable villages

* Tacitus, Annal. iii. c. 37.

† Gibbon, v. 215; iii. 65, 66, 67, 87; vii. 212.

‡ Ibid. v. 89.

§ Buckingham's Mesopotamia, i. 169, 172. Walsh, p. 172-69.

and castles, now in ruins in all parts of the country, attest the rapid diminution of the species since the days of the Moors.* During the middle ages the rival fleets of Genoa and Pisa were manned by as many sailors as the navies of France and England at Trafalgar;† and Florence and Venice numbered all the sovereigns of Europe among their debtors; but deserted palaces and declining numbers now mark the decay of Italian grandeur. Under the sway of the Spaniards the human race has decayed as rapidly in South America, as it has increased in the independent regions of the northern hemisphere:‡ the plains of Hindostan, notwithstanding their fertility and the boasted antiquity of their inhabitants, are more than half in a state of nature, while the vast extent of their ruined cities mark the extent of their early civilisation. The population of China is incomparably less than what the extent and riches of the country could maintain, and in many parts of its vast empire, prodigious tracts have relapsed into a state of nature;§ while in Persia and Armenia, the first seat of man, the vestiges of animated life are daily disappearing amidst the ruins of past magnificence, and the human race appears in danger of becoming extinct among the scenes where it was first created.‖

These considerations are calculated to dispel those

* Laborde, Vol. iv. p. 10.

† Sismondi, Rep. Ital. iii. 90, and iv. 22, 29.

‡ Miller's Narrative, ii. 188. In 1575, Peru contained 8,280,000 souls; it now contains, including Chili, only 2,500,000. Humboldt, ix. 157.

§ Barrow's Travels, p. 94. It contains only 377 inhabitants to the square league, not *one-sixth* of the proportion of the British isles, which contains 2120 in the same space. Humboldt, xi. 57.

‖ Porter, i. 203, 302.

apprehensions concerning the future and possible increase of mankind, which recent events have excited even amongst enlightened men. The rapid progress of population in the North American colonies, and the evils experienced from the diseased action of the principle of increase in Ireland, have awakened the most gloomy apprehensions concerning the supposed disproportion between the means of subsistence, and the possible rate of human increase; and it has been thought indispensable to have recourse to some severe measures to check the progress of so alarming an evil. The existence of misery, over so large a portion of the globe, has been supposed to arise from this inequality; and the desolating tendency of bad government, held out as slight and superficial, compared to those deep-rooted seeds of evil, which take their origin in the laws of Nature.

If the principles which have now been explained are well founded, they strike at the root of these opinions. "If we attend only," says Humboldt, "to the limits which population can by possibility attain as solely dependent on the means of subsistence which the earth can produce, the simplest calculations will demonstrate that the states established in the Torrid Zone should be by much the most populous; but political economy, or the practical science of government, is distrustful of figures and abstract speculations. It is well known, that, by the multiplication of a single family, a deserted continent might, in the space of eight centuries, produce as many thousand millions of inhabitants; and yet these calculations, founded on the supposed powers of duplication in twenty-five or thirty years, are belied by the experience of all nations

who have at all advanced in the career of civilisation."* The principle of increase is no doubt powerful; but the desires destined to restrain it are at least as strong; and they are successively developed as the state of society requires their operation. Unfelt at first in circumstances where their influence would be prejudicial, they gradually increase in power with the growth of mankind, and at length acquire an entire ascendency over the physical propensities. The apprehension, therefore, of an undue increase of mankind, is founded on a *partial view* of the principles of human nature, and arises from considering the *moving* without the *controlling* power. It is no doubt true, that mankind in peculiar political circumstances can double in twenty years; and that, if a geometrical ratio of increase were to become general, the globe would soon be crowded with a redundant multitude of inhabitants. It is not less true, that the earth is attracted to the sun by a force increasing inversely as the squares of the distance, and that, but for the centrifugal force, the solar system would speedily fall to the centre of attraction. This proportion between the centripetal and centrifugal forces, however, preserves the globe steady in its orbit; and the proportion between the increasing and controlling power, is not less nicely adjusted to preserve the balance of the social world.

It is utterly impossible for mankind in the later stages of society, to avoid the influence of the controlling principles. If the limitations of population have not arisen from the excellence of the social system, they will be induced by its corruption; if public hap-

* Voyages, ix. 153.

piness has not established the balance of Nature, it will be righted, as in the days of Brennus, by the sword of conquest. The destiny of every state may be read from the past history of the world; it is doomed to destruction, unless it has developed the principles which render permanent existence consistent with human happiness. The length of its duration is measured by the degree in which it has attained the same objects; a longer or shorter period is assigned, in proportion as it has contributed to the increase or the diminution of public felicity.

The philosophers in this country who have expressed so strongly their apprehensions of a ruinous increase in the species, have been influenced by the usual error in the political speculations, that of overlooking the *progress of human affairs*, and the adaptation of the varying inclinations of mankind to the changing circumstances in which they are placed. This is the key to the whole system, without which all investigation is but wandering in the dark. They have forcibly unfolded the dangers of excessive population, and as clearly explained the advantages of moral restraint; but they have not shown how the desires which lead to this restraint arise naturally out of the progress of society, and increase in force from the augmentation of human felicity; and they have totally overlooked the influence of oppressive government or public misery in deranging the order of Nature, and compelling men to retain in the advanced periods of society the habits and dispositions which were suited to the lowest. The consequence is, that these principles lead to no practical result, or recommend measures which are diametrically the reverse of

what they should have enforced. Posterity will regard the principles which led to the conclusions, that the division of landed property among the poor was injurious, and that a system of legal relief was hurtful to the lower classes, as among the most curious and instructive instances of the errors of the human understanding.

If we fix our eyes, indeed, upon the American rate of increase, and extend it in our imagination to the whole globe, there is abundant ground for gloomy anticipations. So also, if we observe the luxuriance of tropical vegetation, and extend it in fancy in a permanent form over the whole earth, there is good reason for apprehension that the human species will be buried in the riches of Nature, and all the efforts of man choked by the resistless force of vegetable increase. Experience, however, has told us that the power of life will in time be exhausted, and that winter will strip the forest of its robe of beauty; the history of the world proclaims in as loud a voice, that the principles of population will be retarded, in the autumn of national existence, and that winter will again desolate the face of Nature.

At the moment that the difficulties of the Irish population, and the extraordinary growth of the American people have so strongly rivetted the attention of the western world, the visible decline in the human species has excited the most serious apprehensions through the whole Turkish empire.* The despotism of the east has destroyed more than all the freedom of the west has created: the depopulation of Asia has more than counterbalanced the increase of

* Buckingham, Vol. i. p. 172. Walsh, p. 79.

Europe, and the growth of the Transatlantic world. It is calculated by Mr Gibbon, that, in the time of the Antonines, the Roman empire contained 120,000,000 of inhabitants, while in his time the same provinces contained 105,000,000.* If we fix our attention merely on a partial operation of the laws of Nature, we shall fall into the errors of those astronomers who, a few years ago, apprehended a diminution in the warmth of the sun from the spots on his surface; while, at the same period, the inhabitant of the southern hemisphere, it afterwards appeared, had been filled with alarm at the fiery vehemence of his rays.

If it be said, that the arts of civilisation and the improvements in government will prevent the operation of these causes of desolation, and that a steady increase of mankind may be anticipated in future times, the answer is still more satisfactory. Such steadiness can be expected only from the operation of those beneficent changes in government and legislation, which, by protecting the interests of all classes, give full scope to the limitations of population. When justice and freedom shall generally prevail, the principle of increase will be effectually subjected to the interests of society: humanity has no reason to dread the period when the mountains of the world shall be peopled like the valleys of the Alps, or its plains like the fields of Brabant.

The most populous country in the world has always been greatly *within* the limits assigned by Nature to the farther increase of mankind. History makes no mention of a country more populous in proportion to its extent than Ireland; and certainly there

* Gibbon, Vol. i. p. 79.

is none now in existence which approaches to its density. The average of its population is 2545 to the square marine league.* Now Ireland contains, according to the latest surveys, 12,000,000 arable acres, and 4,900,000 of wastes capable of agricultural improvement, besides 2,416,000 of mountain pasture.† It is calculated by Mr Newenham, that an acre of potatoes will produce at an average 22,960 pounds of solid nourishment, and that a person is well fed with six pounds of potatoes in a day.‡ Each person, therefore, will consume 4190 pounds of potatoes in a year, and an acre will annually yield food sufficient for *ten* persons. Supposing, therefore, that *one-third* of the arable acres now under cultivation were annually devoted to this crop, they should yield food sufficient for FORTY MILLIONS; leaving the remaining TWO-THIRDS for fallows, or for the production of wheat, butcher's meat, or food for cattle and horses. This, too, is *without taking into the estimate* either the 4,900,000 acres of wastes capable of being rendered arable, or the 2,416,000 of mountain pasture. It will hardly be disputed, that if *two-thirds* of Ireland, besides the whole wastes, were devoted to the production of luxuries and comforts for the use of man, the people would be incomparably better off than they are at this moment.

In like manner there are 25,350,000 acres in tillage and meadow in England and Wales, besides 3,454,000 acres deemed capable of improvement, and 3,256,000 of barren wastes.§ Mr Young calculates that an acre of wheat yields at an average *one-third*

* Humboldt, xi. 57.
† Cowling's Survey.
‡ Newenham, 340.
§ Cowling, ibid.

of the solid nourishment which is derived from one of potatoes.* Supposing that *one-third* of the arable acres of England were devoted to the staple food of the country, and *two-thirds* to fallows, or the production of luxuries, and the maintenance of animals, it follows, that, if the people live generally on wheat, TWENTY-FIVE MILLIONS of souls, and, if on potatoes, SEVENTY-FIVE MILLIONS, could be maintained, without encroaching in either case on the ample share of *two-thirds*, besides the whole wastes, set apart for the production of luxuries, for the support of animals, or for fallow. This proceeds on the hypothesis of the wheat land being capable of producing three-quarters or six bolls annually, being the food required for three persons; a supposition by no means extravagant, when it is recollected, that in the inferior climate of Scotland, eight or ten bolls is considered as no extraordinary crop. Even with this vast addition to the inhabitants of the country, the density of the population in the first view would not exceed that on the margin of the Lake of Zurich, where the comfort and well-being of the peasantry *exceed that of any spot on the habitable globe*, although there is scarcely an *acre and a quarter* to each individual.†

In like manner Hindostan and China are generally brought forward as examples of the long-continued pressure of population upon the means of subsistence. In the peninsula of India there are 109,200 square marine leagues, and the population is 101,000,000, being at the rate of 925 to the square league. ‡ If

* Young's Ireland, Appendix, 24, 12.

† Coxe, Vol. i. p. 104, 106.

‡ Humboldt, xi. 57.

India were as highly peopled as the British isles, which contain 2120 to the square league, it would contain *more than double* its present inhabitants. Supposing the soil of that rich peninsula to yield no more than that of Britain, the numbers it could maintain, according to the calculation above given, are prodigious. There are 4840 square marine leagues in England and Wales,* and if they could maintain 25,000,000 on wheat, and 75,000,000 chiefly on potatoes, in ease and comfort, it follows, that, on the former food, the Indian peninsula could maintain 500,000,000, and on the latter 1,500,000,000 of souls. This proceeds on the supposition that *two-thirds* of the whole country is annually set apart for the production of luxuries, or for the maintenance of animals, *besides* the share allotted to the growth of the staple food of man; and that the soil in Hindostan yields no more than in Britain; both of which suppositions are greatly within the truth, when it is recollected that rice is the usual food of the natives, and that in most parts of the country double and in some places triple crops can be obtained in a year.†

In China the superficial area amounts to 463,000 square marine leagues, including Chinese Tartary; and the population is 175,000,000, or 377 to the square league. ‡ If it were as well peopled as Great Britain, its population would be 971,000,000, or nearly *five times* its present numbers. If it were cultivated as the arable part of England might be, according to the calculation above given, that if every *third acre* were devoted to wheat, and the remaining

* Humboldt, xi. 57. † Heber. Colebroke. ‡ Humboldt, xi. 55.

two-thirds to grass, fallow, and luxuries, it would maintain 2,300,000,000, or above *thirteen times* its present population.

The Ottoman empire is about eight times as large as the British isles, containing 825,000 square miles, while the British isles extend only over 91,000. The population which in Europe amounts to 11,240,000, is 470 to the square league; in Asia to 10,548,000, is 180 to the square league; and in Egypt 3,000,000, or 1800 to the square league in the cultivated districts on the Nile. If the whole empire were as well peopled as the British isles, it would, instead of 25,000,000 of souls, contain 170,000,000; and if it were improved as England might be, according to the foregoing calculation, it would raise wheaten bread sufficient for *four hundred millions*,—supposing two-thirds of the whole country still set apart for the production of animal food and luxuries, or as sterile wastes.

In North America there are 607,000 square marine leagues. Supposing half of this immense surface, or 300,000 square leagues to be alone susceptible of cultivation, it would, if peopled like the British isles, contain 636,000,000 of souls; and if worked up in the same manner as England, in the foregoing view, it would yield food sufficient for *fifteen hundred millions*.*

In South America there are 571,000 square leagues.† If 250,000 square leagues of this surface is capable of cultivation, it would, at the rate of population in the British isles, contain 535,000,000 of souls; and if peopled as England might be, according to the preceding view, it would raise food sufficient for *twelve*

* Humboldt, xi. 50. † Ibid. xi. p. 59.

hundred and fifty millions. This, too, is after setting apart more than half the surface as totally unproductive, and after allowing *two-thirds* of the whole remainder to go for the raising of luxuries, and supposing the soil not to yield more than an average wheat crop in England.

In the whole Russian empire, there is contained 616,000 square marine leagues, of which Russia in Europe contains 150,000.* Setting aside one-half of the whole surface as not susceptible of cultivation, the remaining half, peopled as the British isles, would contain 600,000,000 souls; and peopled at the same rate as England, according to the foregoing view, it would raise food sufficient for *fourteen hundred and fifty millions.*

If it be said that these calculations are overcharged, in consequence of the great proportion of the globe which is composed of mountains, or unproductive deserts, the answer is obvious. In warm climates, the human race can find subsistence to a very high elevation in mountainous regions, and they are generally more thickly peopled than the plains. Switzerland, which is almost entirely composed of rugged surface, great part of which is totally unproductive, contains a population of 1175 to the square league;† being six times that of the Asiatic provinces of Turkey; and Italy, which is for the most part filled by the Apennines, contains no less than 1967.‡ It has long been observed, that over the whole Ottoman empire, the hilly regions are more populous than the plains;§ and the same is the case with various parts of India,‖

* Humboldt, xi. 56. † Ibid. xi. 38. ‡ Ibid. 57.
§ Walsh. Clarke. ‖ Heber.

in consequence of the security from oppression which the inaccessible nature of the country affords. In Peru, a dense population is frequently to be found in plains or valleys, which are ten thousand feet above the level of the sea; and a single valley in the time of the Incas contained 700,000 souls* at this great elevation.

The proportion of the globe, again, which is totally sterile and unproductive in warm climates, is in a great measure compensated by the superior produce of the soil in those parts where cultivation can be pursued. In the cold regions of the north, the produce of the summer is consumed during the long and dreary months of winter; under a tropical sun, even the coldest months are productive of food for man. In Palestine, the same soil which has borne two successive crops in summer, yields a winter crop of barley;† and in Egypt, vegetation springs unceasingly from January to December.‡ In the plains of Lombardy, double crops are universal, and the produce of grass is at least three times what can be obtained in England;§ while in the Campagna of Naples, a triple crop of vines, wheat, and Indian corn annually reward the labours of the husbandman.

A large portion of the eastern world, indeed, is now an arid desert; but it does by no means follow, from that circumstance, that it is incapable of cultivation. In these burning regions little is required but water to convert the most deserted wilderness into fertile gardens. Palestine, which formerly was so richly cultivated in garden and terrace husbandry,

* Miller, ii. 190. † Volney. Clarke. ‡ Sonnini, Vol. ii. p. 112.
§ Young, Vol. ii. p. 37. Personal observation.

might again be converted by irrigation into a land flowing with milk and honey.* The rising of the waters of the Nile converts the lands of Egypt into fruitful fields. The deserts of Mesopotamia, now so barren, were overloaded in ancient times with the riches of Nature; and nothing but a renewed distribution of the waters of the Euphrates is necessary to revive the produce of the soil; and in all the plains of Persia, now for the most part deserted, traces of a system of irrigation are to be seen equal to the boasted works of the Milanese territory.† Wherever water can be brought, the rocks of Catalonia are covered with magnificent harvests;‡ and even under the rays of a vertical sun, the plains of Bengal are converted, by the aid of irrigation, into fruitful and productive fields.§ There is hardly any country in the world except Peru, where rain does not fall in sufficient quantities, if carefully collected, to furnish the means of artificial watering; by the aid of this auxiliary, therefore, many of the most deserted tracts of the globe may be rendered the most productive of food for the use of man.

It is mentioned by Humboldt, that the same space which in wheat will yield food for *two* individuals, under the banana crop will maintain *fifty*. Nothing, he adds, astonished him more than the small spots which in Mexico furnished food sufficient for numerous families.‖ Such is the produce of the soil in Ceylon, that whole families are frequently maintained for successive generations on the fruit of a

* Clarke, iv. 237. † Ante, I. 403. ‡ Young's Travels, ii. p. 117.
§ Colebrookeon the Husbandry of Bengal, Vol. i. p. 44-47.
‖ Humboldt, Nouv. Espagne, iii. 29, 36.

single tree; and it is not unusual to see the *hundred and fiftieth* part of a cocoa tree alienated as a separate property.* Mr Young calculates that land under potatoes will yield *three times* the solid nourishment which the same space will produce in wheaten crops.† In some parts of the West India islands an acre, besides maintaining an individual, will yield from L.10 to L.15 of *clear annual profit*, even under the expensive management of stewards and slave labour.‡ These facts are deserving of the most serious attention. The introduction of the potato has *tripled* the produce of the earth over the greater part of the globe; the general use of the banana, in the climates suited to its production, would multiply it more than *twenty-fold.*

The fertility of the soil over the whole globe is constantly increasing, from the annual decay of vegetable matter, the addition of animal droppings or remains, and the washing down of the soil from superior situations. The increase annually derived from these sources may be small; but the greatest changes are produced by inconsiderable causes constantly operating. The richest spots on the globe, the plains of Lombardy, the Delta of Egypt, the Basons of Babylon, the fields of Bengal, have been produced by the combined operation of these two causes; the vestiges of vegetable matter, and the detritus of the adjoining mountains, are to be found at the depth of

* Heber, iii. p. 146, 197. † Young's Ireland, Appendix, 24, 12.

‡ An estate of 200 acres in St Vincents maintains 160 slaves, and yields L. 2600 clear profit; the land requires the labour, and is adequate to the maintenance of 40 more; and by their aid the produce would be proportionally augmented.

twenty or thirty feet below the surface.* The deposit of the American lakes is daily forming an alluvial soil below their waves, which at no distant period will convert them into vast morasses, and ultimately into fertile plains; the enormous masses of wood and earth which are rolled down by the rivers of the new world, are incessantly producing beds of combined vegetable and animal matter, from which the utmost luxuriance of vegetation will hereafter spring; and in the immense marshy plain which forms the centre of New Holland, the powers of vegetation are unceasingly acting, and preparing in silence the extension of the earth.

In the uninhabited parts of the southern world, the decay of vegetable matter goes forward on a scale to which, in the cultivated regions of the north, we are entire strangers. The force of vegetation under a tropical sun, where a tree frequently grows to the height of an hundred feet in ten years, and the single leaf of a plant is sometimes of sufficient size to shelter a whole family under its shade, covers the earth with a richness of soil, which, in the infancy of agriculture, is itself the chief obstacle to cultivation. Manure of any sort is totally unnecessary; a slight scratching is all the husbandry which the land requires, and even though no pains are taken to extirpate the bushes or trees which remain on the surface, the produce is generally seventy, sometimes as high as an hundred fold.†

In the cultivated portions of the globe the labours of husbandry form a constant addition to the productive powers of Nature. From the mere operation of til-

* Young's Italy, ii. p. 117, 37. † Miller's South America, ii. 336, 359.

lage very considerable improvement is effected. It is well known, that, by digging the earth round the roots of young trees, their growth is more than doubled. The operations of manuring, liming, draining, inclosing, and planting, form an incalculable addition to the sum of agricultural riches, not only for the present time, but for future ages. If the state of Germany or Britain, as described by Cæsar and Tacitus *horrida sylvis fœda paludis*, be compared with their present flourishing agricultural condition, the truth of this observation will appear altogether indisputable. It seems impossible to doubt, that, from both these causes, the capability of the earth to maintain inhabitants is *daily increasing;* nor is it easy to affix a limit to the addition which may be made to its produce by the combined operation of natural decay and human labour.

It may require a stretch of imagination to conceive the shores of the Oronoco or the Amour* clothed with smiling fields; but unquestionably not greater than it would have been for a Roman in the time of Tacitus to figure the present agricultural condition of Britain or Saxony. While the deserted portions of the globe, therefore, are constantly increasing in fertility from the decay of vegetation, or the wasting of mountains, the cultivated districts are as rapidly improving in quality, from the labours of husbandry, and the influence of the atmosphere on cultivated soil.

If the produce of the OCEAN be taken into account, in addition to these ample stores of agricultural riches, it is hardly possible to form an estimate of the capabilities of subsistence which the globe affords. There is no more extraordinary miracle than that

* Cochrane's Travels in Siberia, ii. 117.

which annually takes place in the multiplication of its inhabitants. From the roe of one fish *several millions* of fry spring in a single season. Those who are alarmed at the possibility of a geometrical increase of human beings, compared with the extent of the terraqueous globe, would do well to consider the rate of multiplication in the finny tribes, compared with the boundless surface of the sea. Nor is it in one portion of the world only that this astonishing fecundity is to be found. In the temperate equally as the torrid regions, under the snows of the Pole, and the fires of the Line, the same prolific powers exist. In the deserts of the frozen zone, amidst solitudes inaccessible to human approach, Nature seems to teem with animated life; the clefts of eternal ice are covered with innumerable swarms of aquatic birds, and in the water beneath those shoals of fishes are produced which spread as far as the waves of the ocean expand.* Amidst the silence of these inaccessible retreats the creative powers of Nature are unceasingly acting; and from their secure and icy cradles are annually impelled those stupendous shoals which carry to temperate zones the inexhaustible riches of animated life. The race of savage animals may perish before the growth of civilisation; the domestic companions of man may swell under his management, and expand with the wants of the species; but the multiplication of the aquatic tribes is provided for by causes beyond his control, and secured in regions which his foot is never destined to approach.

The efforts of human industry have hitherto hardly touched on this prodigious field of subsistence. If we

* Parry's Voyage, i.

contrast the few and scattered vessels which on different stations throughout the world catch a small portion of the passing wealth for the use of man, with the boundless magnitude of that which remains untouched or falls a prey to enemies in their own element, we are lost in astonishment at the extent of subsistence which the globe affords. From the fishery on the western coast of Scotland, the Dutch for two centuries derived upwards of L. 2,000,000 sterling annually,* and though the Scotch have very recently entered on this branch of industry, the herring fishery alone maintains 50,000 seamen, and produces nearly 400,000 barrels annually. † If a twentieth part of the Irish people were engaged in the inexhaustible fisheries with which the coasts of the island abound, and the remainder engaged in the cultivation of its soil, it would double the riches of the country, and provide an ample store of nutritious food to support three times its present inhabitants.

Fish in a fresh state cannot be carried to any considerable distance; but in the same waves where they are found an inexhaustible supply of SALT is to be obtained. In the boundless store of these two articles which the sea affords, the intentions of Nature are evinced as clearly, as if they were proclaimed in an especial commandment. On the shores of the ocean over the whole world, by the mere aid of solar heat, may be obtained salt enough to preserve the utmost conceivable quantity of the food which its waters afford. The addition of salted fish to vegetable diet is of incalculable importance to the lower orders. This sub-

* Wealth of Nations.

† M'Culloch's Stat. of British Empire, i. 603.

stance seems not only universally agreeable to the taste of men, but highly conducive to their health.

It is interesting to observe how completely this almost untouched field of subsistence combines with the means of extended subsistence which the introduction of the *potato* affords. Whatever may be said of this prolific root where it forms the *sole* food of the people, there can be no doubt, that combined with salt fish, it forms a most admirable subsistence. Nowhere are the lower orders better provided for than in those situations such as the maritime parts of Sweden and Norway, where potatoes, milk, and cured fish, form their universal food.* If the depths of the sea were sufficiently explored by human industry, they would afford an inexhaustible supply of this valuable article to aid the vegetable riches which the land affords.

Materials are awanting to estimate the quantity of subsistence which may in this way be extracted from the waters of the globe. It is impossible to guess even at the amount of those vast shoals which annually migrate from the north and south poles to the temperate latitudes; impelled by an irresistible instinct from the regions of desolation to the scenes of human existence. But there seems no reason to doubt that they are inexhaustible by all the efforts of man; and that all that has hitherto been done to ascertain their amount, bears no greater proportion to the whole, than the tract of European enterprise does to the boundless wastes of the Sahara desert. It is reserved for future ages to explore this unknown field of animated life; and, by availing themselves of the thousandth part of the stream of wealth which is an-

* Clarke, i. 264.

nually passing their shores, to unfold the magnitude of the provision made by Nature for the support of all her offspring.

Nothing, therefore, appears more chimerical, than the apprehension now so frequently entertained of the dangers of an excessive increase of mankind, or of the disproportion between the powers of population, and the means of augmenting subsistence. From all that we know of past history, the growth of the human species is exceedingly slow; and there seems good reason for doubting whether it has at all increased since the flourishing periods of the Roman empire.* In estimating the probable rate of future advance, we must look to the whole laws of our nature, and not proceed upon the consideration of any particular propensities; we must consider the principles which retard, as well as those which promote, the multiplication of mankind, and take into account the decrepitude of ancient, as well as the vigour of youthful states. There is no ground for believing that the condition of mankind in future ages will be materially different from what it has been in time past, excepting that, from the improvement of society, the growth of freedom, and the extension of knowledge, and the spread of religion, a more complete developement of the limitations to population may be anticipated. Comparing the rate of human increase, as proved by past experience, with the means of enlarged subsistence which the world affords, it is impossible to foresee the period when population shall have attained its utmost limits.

There is a great inaccuracy in the expression so

* Hume's Essays, ii. 466.

frequently used of late years, that population in various states presses upon the means of subsistence. If by these words is meant that the numbers of the people are greater in many countries than under *existing circumstances* can be comfortably maintained, nothing is more true. But if it is meant to be asserted, that these numbers are greater than the soil can possibly maintain, and that they have a tendency to increase faster than food can be provided for them, nothing can be more erroneous. In the most populous country in the world, the soil could with ease maintain double its present numbers. The misery arises not from any deficiency in the bounty of Nature, or any physical difficulty in making its produce keep pace with the wants of the people; but from the circumstances in the state of property, the oppression of the higher orders, or the vices of the lower, which prevent them from availing themselves of it. When the Irish in 1823 were dying of famine, the price of grain was not extravagant, the land was loaded with the finest crops. Every gale wafted them over to the more opulent markets of England, and the means of maintaining triple the existing population lay still buried in the soil. Let us not, therefore, accuse Nature of having established a disproportion between the powers of human increase, and the means of extending subsistence; let us blame ourselves for the errors which prevent a part of the people from partaking of her bounty, and lament the existence of those fatal dissensions which bury in oblivion the gifts of Nature, and make us ascribe to her laws the consequences which have flowed from our own violation of them.

The condition of mankind is wholly independent of

the *amount* of subsistence which can be extracted from the soil in any country. That determines the *number* who can be maintained; but their comfort or misery is entirely dependent upon the proportion which their numbers bear to the means of subsistence, which under existing circumstances can be obtained. The greatest misery may be found in countries where the population is only 25 to the square league, though the soil would afford subsistence for 5000, and the greatest comfort when it is 2500. The environs of the Lake of Zurich exhibit the densest population, and the greatest individual comfort of any district in the world; while the Turkish empire presents scattered inhabitants pining in misery amidst the utmost luxuriance of Nature.

There is no solid foundation, therefore, for the apprehension, that, by the general use of a more productive species of food, as the potato, the evils of a redundant population will either be hastened or aggravated. The potato may have greatly increased the productive power of the soil, and enabled one acre to feed as many persons as three could formerly have done; but it has no tendency to augment the pressure of population on subsistence. The *proportion* between the number of the people and the means of feeding them, remains the same whether a square league will maintain 2000 inhabitants, or, by the introduction of a more productive species of food, can be brought to maintain six. It is not by the absolute number of persons on a given space that their condition is determined, but by the quantity of the necessaries and conveniences of life which each enjoys; and this quantity may remain the same whether the popu-

lation is dense or thinly scattered. To hold that the discovery of the potato has been a misfortune to humanity, and that its use should be restrained by legislative measures, is one of the most curious instances of the influence of theory in perverting the judgment even of able men, which the history of the world exhibits. It might as well be argued that it is a calamity to a country to enjoy plentiful fountains, because it will inevitably render all its inhabitants water drinkers, to the entire neglect of the superior beverages of porter and ale. The simple answer to all these imaginary dangers is, that the natural tendency of mankind is to *improve*, not to *lower* their enjoyments, and that an inferior species of food will never be generally adopted, but from the influence of oppressive political institutions, which prevent the developement of the limitations to population. While the potato, accordingly, has been universally adopted as the food of the peasantry of Ireland, whom a variety of unfortunate circumstances had reduced to extreme distress, it has never lowered the standard of comfort, or come into general use among the more fortunate people of England.

If a boundless store of subsistence is provided for mankind in the multiplication of fish in incalculable quantities in the arctic regions, whether of the northern or southern hemisphere, a progress is going forward in the milder regions of the Pacific, not less fitted in the end to extend the means of human subsistence, and multiply the fields of human industry. Amidst the verdant slopes and sunny isles of the Pacific; in regions blessed with perpetual spring, and in an ocean which is hardly ever ruffled by a tempestu-

ous gale, the process of creation is going on with ceaseless activity; and myriads of insects, hardly visible to the human eye, are preparing beneath the glassy wave, a future continent of vast extent for the habitation of man. The whole islands which stretch from the western coast of South America and the foot of the Andes, to the shores of Australia, and the Alps of New Zealand, and form as it were a zone of paradise around the globe, are, with a very few exceptions, composed of coral reefs, some of which are still nearly on the level of the original elements in which they were formed, while others have been raised up into islands and mountains by the force of central heat. The intervening ocean is in great part filled with these infant islands and continents, which are slowly but certainly rising to the surface of the water, and which, from being altogether invisible except in a ruffled sea, constitute the chief danger of navigation in those heavenly climates. As soon as the little architects of these submarine continents have brought their fabric to the surface of the water, they terminate their labours, and transfer elsewhere the ceaseless activity of their tribes; the ocean labourers have done their work; terrestrial agents and animals take the embryo continent from the tenants of the deep.*

Subterraneous fires elevate some of the aquatic strata into lofty mountains, while others, the destined plains of the world, are subjected to a process more slow, but in the end not less efficacious. Innumerable aquatic birds perch at intervals on the tiny summits which rise above the flood, and by their droppings commence the formation of earth; marine plants

* Malte Brun, iii. 401, 403.

clasp round the projecting points, and fill up the numerous cavities of the coral reefs; the ceaseless agitation of the ocean wafts to them the branches, leaves, and vegetable remains which are floating about in those tepid seas, or have been washed from the shores of their numerous islands. Successive generations of marine animals leave their remains on its surface, and at length the naked rock assumes the consistency of an earthly continent. The transition is made from marine to terrestrial formation.

The process of terrestrial creation then commences; the tribes of semi-marine plants first begin to flourish on the surface hardly yet emerged from the deep; next a salt marsh appears filled with the rank luxuriance of tropical vegetation, and in the course of ages it becomes filled with the huge lizards, crocodiles, saurian and aquatic animals of infant existence; and they, in their turn, after having run their span of life, contribute to swell the amphibious remains which are conspiring in the ceaseless work of creation. From the mingled animal and vegetable deposit of successive generations, an alluvial soil is finally formed—slowly the solid earth rises above the level of its aqueous cradle—the tenants of the deep forsake a region no longer fitted for their habitation—the dove appears with the olive branch from the abodes of terrestrial life—a green turf springs up on the surface of the rich alluvial soil which so many ages, and the combined efforts of so many generations of animated life when living, and their remains when dead, have contributed to form; flights of birds from the nearest islands in quest of their prey bring the seeds of the adjacent land suited to the soil; the grassy surface is

enamelled with the flowers and the colour of spring; trees take root on the fertile expanse, and, from the annual fall of their leaves, a rich deposit of vegetable earth is rapidly formed, on which the harvests and the pastures of future nations are destined to be reared. While man in the old world is pining under the miseries which his wickedness has created, or, speculating in the strength of his intellect on the supposed limits which the extent of the globe has imposed to his increase, an insect in the Pacific is calling a new world into existence, and countless myriads of happy animals are labouring to extend the continents over which, in the fulness of time, his more enlightened and grateful race is to extend.*

* "The great countries of Oceanica are exposed to the influence of a vertical sun. It is probable that New Holland, unless it contains inland seas, has a climate as hot and arid as Africa. The marshy shores of some islands in the north-west of Oceanica, exposed to an intense heat, generate a pestiferous air, which may be corrected by human cultivation. Notwithstanding these local inconveniences, Oceanica presents to the industrious, the healthy, and the temperate, a greater diversity of delightful climates than any other part of the world. Such islands as are small and elevated resemble so many paradises. By selecting localities with the proper elevations, the Englishman may find his fresh lawns and his moss-covered trees, the Italian his orange-groves, and the West Indian planter his fields of sugar-cane. The small extent of these islands procures for them the temperature of the ocean. The heat never becomes insupportable even for northern Europeans. The air is continually renewed by the light sea and land breezes, dividing the empire of day and night. Their perpetual spring is rarely disturbed by hurricanes or earthquakes."—Malte Brun, iii. 405, 406.

"All the archipelagos of eastern Oceanica lie north and south. New Zealand, New Caledonia, and the other Hebrides, form well marked chains. That of Solomon's Islands, bending from the south-east to the north-west, is continued in New Ireland and New Hanover. It often happens that the small chains are individually terminated by a larger island than the others of which they are composed. Thus the islands of Otaheite, Owyhee, and Terra del Spirito Santo, are found at

It is impossible to form an estimate of the extent of the surface, which, in a climate enjoying a perpe-

the extremity of a line of smaller islands. These analogies might have facilitated the progress of discovery, and especially contributed to make each archipelago more easily recognized. By carefully marking the direction of a chain, navigators might have become almost certain of discovering new islands; and even still they ought to attend to a principle which may put them on their guard against immense reefs which, in all probability, follow the direction of chains at the bottom of the ocean.

"Among these thousands of islands, some shoot up to a considerable elevation, generally presenting a conical form. Many of them, according to Foster, are basaltic; the centres of the mountains often contain wide tunnels, and at other times round lakes, which may be taken for ancient craters. Although the presence of volcanic substances has not everywhere been ascertained by satisfactory evidence, we know already in Oceanica a greater number of volcanoes than in any other part of the world. Sailors sometimes speak of them with admiration, at other times with terror. In one place, as in Shooten's Islands, near New Guinea, the flames and the smoke rise calmly over a fruitful and smiling country; in another, as in the northern part of the Marian islands, dreadful torrents of black lava darken the shore. The volcano of Giloto broke out in 1673 with a violence which made the whole of the Moluccas shake. The ashes were carried as far as Magindanao, and the scoria and pumice stones floating on the sea, seemed to retard the progress of the vessels.

"All the low islands seem to have for their base a reef of coral rocks, generally disposed in a circular form. The middle shore is often occupied by a lagoon; the sand is mixed with pieces of broken coral and other marine substances; proving that such islands have been originally formed by these coral rocks, which are inhabited, and according to some, created by polypi, and afterwards augmented and elevated by the slow accumulation of light bodies drifted to them by the sea. It is, however, very remarkable, that among these islands so constituted, some are almost level with the sea, while others have hundreds of feet of elevation, of which last Tongataboo is an example. On their summits are found coral rocks perforated in the same manner with those found at the water's edge. Now the madrepores, millepores, and tubipores which raise these submarine habitations, (for the true coral polypus is never found there,) grow over the hardened spoils of their dead predecessors. They cannot live above the level of the sea; a circumstance, which shows that the sea, at a former period, washed these

tual spring, is thus preparing for human habitation; but if we cast our eyes on the globe, and survey the

rocks, and gradually retired and left them exposed."—Malte Brun, iii, 400, 401, 402.

"Some reefs rise like walls in the middle of the deepest sea, such as the formidable rocks on which Captain Flinders nearly perished, and which probably proved fatal to La Perouse. The great reef of New Caledonia is so steep, that Captain Kent, commander of the Buffalo, sounding at no greater distance than twice the length of his ship, with a line of 150 fathoms, could find no bottom. The reefs round New South Wales also rise like perpendicular walls from a very deep bottom. The reefs often extend from one island to another. The inhabitants of Disappointment Islands and those of Duff's Group can make visits by passing over long lines of reefs from island to island, presenting the appearance of a regiment marching along the surface of the ocean. On those reefs which are covered with water are found immense collections of Molluscæ and small shells. Muscles of every variety, pearl oysters, Pinnæ marinæ, star-fish, and Medusæ, collect in millions."—Malte Brun, iii. 402, 403.

"No sea abounds so much in fish. Between Easter Island and the Sandwich Islands, La Perouse was followed by immense troops of fish; some individuals were easily identified by the harpoons sticking in their bodies. Between the shores of Borneo and those of New Guinea, we find an entire nation of fishermen called Badshoos, who are constantly in their boats, and live on fish. In the neighbourhood of New Zealand, Labillardiere saw shoals of fishes, which produced by their motions a wavering movement on the surface of the water, like the advance and recess of a tide."—Malte Brun, iii. 407.

"The vegetable kingdom presents to us all the riches of India in new splendour, and accompanied by other treasures unknown to Asia. Two orders of trees are spread over all the middling and small islands of Oceanica, which delight both the eye and the taste. The numerous family of the palms is extended over the most remote and the smallest islands. Between the tropics there is scarcely a rock or a sand-bank on which these trees do not display their astonishing vegetation. The palms have in the interior structure of their trunks no analogy with other trees. In habit and in structure they resemble the ferns, in their blossom the grasses, and the asparagi in their mode of fructification. But no trees are so portly and magnificent as the palms. They present a straight column, perfectly cylindrical, crowned at the summit with a vast load of sprightly leaves, arranged in circles over one another, and put forth from their common receptacle large panicles, par-

vast zone of islands in the Pacific, marking the direction where this submarine continent is forming, it may safely be affirmed, that it will one day, to all human appearance, equal, if not exceed, in expanse, the vast surface of the Asiatic continent. At least twenty millions of square miles, capable of containing five times the whole present inhabitants of the globe in affluence and plenty, are there in the course of creation, and slowly but certainly acquiring consistency in the depths of the ocean, to rise by alluvial formation above the level of the deep, or be elevated by the awful power of internal fire into the Alps and the Andes of a future world!

One most remarkable circumstance deserves parti-

tially inclosed in ample sheaths, and loaded with flowers and with fruit. But their majestic appearance is their least merit. Their beauty is surpassed by their usefulness. The external layers of the trunk furnish a hard and heavy wood, which may be formed into planks and stakes. The sheaths which contain the clusters of fruit acquire such thickness and consistence that they are often used as vessels. The large leaves are employed for roofing wigwams and cottages. Materials for wadding, flock, and cordage, are furnished by the fibrous pericarp of the cocoa tree, by the leaf-stalks of several other species, and by the filamentous tissue which in all of them covers the trunk. Of these are made ropes, cables, and even sail-cloth, and they are used as oakum in caulking vessels. Another family of nutritious trees enjoyed by the Oceanian nations, is that of the artocarpi, or bread-fruit trees. This valuable genus rises to a height of forty feet. Its trunk acquires the thickness of the human body. The fruit is as large as a child's head. Gathered before it is fully ripe, and baked among ashes, it becomes a wholesome bread, resembling fresh wheaten bread in taste. For a period of eight months, this tree yield its fruits in such profusion, that three of them will support a man for a year. The inner bark of the same tree is manufactured into a kind of cloth. Its wood is well adapted for building cottages and canoes. Its leaves are used as napkins; its glutinous and milky juice furnishes good cement and glue."—Malte Brun, iii. 408, 409, 410.

cular attention, in the formation of the great terrestrial regions of the southern hemisphere. Malte Brun has told us that all the coral reefs and all the chains of mountains run from north to south through the whole of these latitudes. But the winds blow with as invariable regularity, and the currents set in from east to west.* Thus a certain provision is made for the deposit of the ocean being intercepted on the numerous bars which insect labour has shot across its wide expanse, and terrestrial formation assumes the character of long promontories, delicious islands, and narrow strips of land, intersected and surrounded by frequent channels of the sea. Such, accordingly, is precisely the character of the immense archipelago of Eastern Oceanica.† How beautiful the provision thus made for the creation of land in such a form as will temper the fiery heats of these tropical regions by the cool breezes of the adjacent ocean. Prompted by a mysterious instinct, the coral insects direct the labours of their successive generations in the very way calculated to form future and delightful abodes for civilized man; and while performing their little functions in life, are laying the foundations of straits exceeding the Bosphorus, and seas outstripping the Ægean, in fragrance and beauty.

Imagination itself recoils from the grandeur of the spectacle thus afforded; the eye of piety, alone habituated to the contemplation of Supreme beneficence, alike in the least as the greatest works of Nature, can bear the light. And if we could conceive it possible that moral improvement and reformation were in the

* Malte Brun, iii. 400, 405. † Ibid. iii. 404.

interim to keep pace with this marvellous preparation for human increase; if the heart of man could as certainly rise above the fraud, and violence, and selfishness by which it is immersed, as the continents of the Pacific will emerge from the waves of the ocean in which they were cradled; if the dictates of justice and the precepts of Christianity were to direct the innumerable multitudes who will one day cultivate those boundless plains, and tenant those lovely isles; if the feathery cocoa, the prolific banana, and the graceful palm of the Pacific isles were to wave over the abodes of religion, freedom, and self-control, the dream of the poets would indeed be realized, the age of gold would return to the earth, and man would almost regain paradise even in the scene of earthly probation.

Nor is there any foundation for the obvious observation, that the creation of so vast a continent in what is now the domain of the ocean, must displace as much water as there is created of land, and thus the habitable globe will undergo no addition, because what is gained in one quarter will be on the sea, and will be lost in another by its encroachments on the land. Even if this were the case, it would afford no adequate answer to the preceding views; the soil gained in the south is incomparably more rich, and the climate superior to that which would in this view be lost in the north. Humanity would have no cause to regret a change which, submerging the Pampas of Buenos Ayres, the snows of Greenland, or the sands of Africa, called into existence a series of continents, overspread with the terrestrial paradises of Otaheite or New Zealand. But it is evident that there is no ground for

this apprehension. However it may be explained, the fact is certain, that the ocean is not extending its limits, notwithstanding all the additions which the washing down of continents and incessant labours of the coral insects are making to the solid matter contained in its bosom. All the rivers of the globe have, for six thousand years, been carrying down the alluvial deposits of the existing continents into the sea: and during the same period, the labours of the coral tribes in the southern hemisphere have made an enormous addition to the rocks under its waves; but nowhere has it permanently encroached in the old world on the surface of the earth. What is worn away in one quarter by particular currents or a tempestuous roll, is gained in another by the extension of alluvial surface into the deep; and to all appearance the limits of the terrestrial globe have, upon the whole, undergone no diminution, but rather the reverse, since the earliest periods of human record.

Nor is it difficult to see in what quarter a provision is made for affording room for this annual and unceasing addition to the solid matter contained in the ocean. Of the moisture which is constantly raised up by the evaporation of the sun's rays from the surface of the ocean, the greater part, doubtless, returns in rains and dews to rivers to the source from whence it sprung. But part, probably on an average a third, falls in the arctic regions of the North and South Pole, where it never melts, but contributes to swell the mountains of ice and snow which have there been accumulating since the beginning of time. The moisture which falls in these rigorous latitudes

is, in great part, wholly withdrawn from the ocean; and piled up in huge icebergs which float on the surface, till arrested by some projecting land, or accumulated on the snowy summits of their hoary mountains. It is thus apparently that room is made for the ceaseless work of creation in the southern ocean.*

But how are these embryo continents to be ultimately filled? What powerful impulse is to tear up civilized man from his native seats, from the abode of ease and refinement, of art and of industry, to force him into the regions of desert existence, and spread his seed through the wilderness of Nature?

Civilised man rarely emigrates; under a despotic government never. What colonies has China sent forth to people the wastes of Asia? Are the Hindoos to be found spread over the vast archipelago of the Indian Ocean? Republican Rome colonized the world; Republican Greece spread the light of civilisation along the shores of the Mediterranean; but Imperial Rome could never maintain the numbers of its own provinces, and the Grecian empire slumbered on with a declining population for eleven hundred years. Is Italy, with its old civilized millions, or France, with its ardent and redundant peasantry, the storehouse of nations from whence the European race is to be diffused over the world? The colonies of Spain, torn by internal factions, and a prey to furious passions, are in the most miserable state, and con-

* Naturalists may determine whether this solution of the difficulty stated in the text is well founded; but the author trusts he will be forgiven for inserting it, as it is not his own, but the suggestion of a near and dear relative, his son, who has only reached his fourteenth year.

stantly declining in numbers!* The tendency of nations in a high state of civilisation ever is to remain at home; to become wedded to the luxuries and enjoyments, the habits and refinements of an artificial state of existence, and regard all other people as rude and barbarous, unfit for the society, unequal to the reception of civilized existence, to slumber on for ages with a population, poor, redundant, and declining. Such has for ages been the condition of the Chinese and the Hindoos, the Turks and the Persians, the Spaniards and the Italians; and hence no great settlements of mankind have proceeded from their loins.

What, then, is the centrifugal force which counteracts this inert tendency, and impels man from the heart of wealth, from the bosom of refinement, from the luxuries of civilisation, to the forests and the wilderness? What sends him forth into the desert, impelled by the energy of the savage character, but yet with all the powers and acquisitions of civilisation at his command; with the axe in his hand, but the Bible in his pocket, and the Encyclopedia by his side? It is democracy which effects this prodigy; it is that insatiable passion which overcomes alike the habits and affections of society, and sends forth the civilized pilgrim far from his kindred, far from his home, far from the bones of his fathers, to seek amidst transatlantic wilds that freedom and independence which his native country can no longer afford. It is in the restless activity which it engenders, the feverish desire of elevation which it awakens in all classes, the longing after a state of existence unattainable in long

* Tocqueville, ii. 139.

established states which it produces, that the centrifugal force of civilized man is to be found.

It is the nature of the democratic passion to produce an inextinguishable degree of vigour and activity among the middling classes of society—to develope an unknown energy among their wide-spread ranks —to fill their bosoms with insatiable and often visionary projects of advancement and amelioration, and inspire them with an ardent desire to raise themselves individually and collectively in the world. Thence the astonishing results—sometimes for good, sometimes for evil—which it produces. Its grand characteristic is *energy*, and energy not rousing the exertions merely of a portion of society, but awakening the dormant strength of millions; not producing simply the chivalrous valour of the high-bred cavalier, but drawing forth "the might that slumbers in a peasant's arm." The greatest achievements of genius, the noblest efforts of heroism, that have illustrated the history of the species, have arisen from the efforts of this principle. Thence the fight of Marathon and the glories of Salamis—the genius of Greece and the conquests of Rome—the heroism of Sempach and the devotion of Haarlem—the paintings of Raphael and the poetry of Tasso—the energy which covered with a velvet carpet the slopes of the Alps, and the industry which bridled the stormy seas of the German Ocean—the burning passions which carried the French legions to Cadiz and the Kremlin, and the sustained fortitude which gave to Britain the dominion of the waves. Thence, too, in its wilder and unrestrained excesses, the greatest crimes which have disfigured the dark annals of human wickedness—the

massacres of Athens and the banishments of Florence —the carnage of Marius and the proscriptions of the Triumvirate—the murders of Cromwell and the bloodshed of Robespierre.

As the democratic passion is thus a principle of such vital and searching energy, so it is from it, when acting under due regulation and control, that the greatest and most durable advances in social existence have sprung. Why are the shores of the Mediterranean the scene to which the pilgrim from every quarter of the globe journeys to visit at once the cradles of civilisation, the birthplace of arts, of arms, of philosophy, of poetry, and the scenes of their highest and most glorious achievements? Because freedom spread along its smiling shores; because the ruins of Athens and Sparta, of Rome and Carthage, of Tyre and Syracuse, lie on its margin; because civilisation, advancing with the white sails which glittered on its blue expanse, pierced, as if impelled by central heat, through the dark and barbarous regions of the Celtic race who peopled its shores. What gave Rome the empire of the world, and brought the venerable ensigns bearing the words, "Senatus populusque Romanus," to the Wall of Antoninus and the foot of Mount Atlas, the waters of the Euphrates and the Atlantic Ocean? Democratic vigour. Democratic vigour *duly coerced by Patrician power*; the insatiable ambition of successive consuls, guided by the wisdom of the senate; the unconquerable and inexhaustible bands which, for centuries, issued from the Roman Forum.

What has spread the British dominions over the habitable globe, and converted the ocean into a

peaceful lake for its internal carriage, and made the winds the instruments of its blessings to mankind; and spread its race in vast and inextinguishable multitudes through the new world? Democratic ambition; democratic ambition, restrained and regulated at home by an adequate weight of aristocratic power; a government which, guided by the stability of the patrician, but invigorated by the activity of the plebian race, steadily advanced in conquest, renown, and moral ascendency, till its fleets overspread the sea, and it has become a matter of certainty, that half the globe must be peopled by its descendants. Above an hundred thousand emigrants from Great Britain, in the year 1833, settled in the British colonies; a like number annually pass over to the whole of North America from the British isles; and amidst the strife of parties, the collision of interests, the ardent hopes and chimerical anticipations incident to these days of transition, the English race is profusely and indelibly transplanted into the boundless wastes prepared for its reception in the New World.

The continued operation of this undying vigour and energy is still more clearly evinced in the Anglo-American race, which originally sprung from the stern Puritans of Charles I.'s age, which have developed all the peculiarities of the democratic character in unrestrained profusion amidst the boundless wastes which lie open to their enterprise. M. Tocqueville has described, with equal justice and eloquence, the extraordinary activity of these principles in the United States.

"America is a land of wonders, in which every thing is in constant motion, and every movement seems an

improvement. The idea of novelty is there indissolubly connected with the idea of amelioration. No natural boundary seems to be set to the efforts of man; and what is not yet done is only what he has not yet attempted to do. This perpetual change which goes on in the United States, these frequent vicissitudes of fortune, accompanied by such unforeseen fluctuations in private and in public wealth, serve to keep the minds of the citizens in a constant state of feverish agitation, which admirably invigorates their exertions, and keeps them in a state of excitement above the ordinary level of mankind. The whole life of an American is passed like a game of chance, a revolutionary crisis, or a battle. As the same causes are continually in operation throughout the country, they ultimately impart an irresistible impulse to the national character. The American, taken as a chance specimen of his countrymen, must then be a man of singular warmth in his desires, enterprizing, fond of adventure, and above of all innovation. The same bent is manifest in all that he does; he introduces it into his political laws, his religious doctrines, his theories of social economy, and his domestic occupations; he bears it with him in the depth of the back-woods, as well as in the business of the city. It is this same passion, applied to maritime commerce, which makes him the cheapest and the quickest trader in the world."

"It is not impossible to conceive the surpassing liberty which the Americans enjoy; some idea may likewise be formed of the extreme equality which subsists amongst them, but the political activity which pervades the United States, must be seen in order to

be understood. No sooner do you set foot upon the American soil than you are stunned by a kind of tumult; a confused clamour is heard on every side; and a thousand simultaneous voices demand the immediate satisfaction of their social wants. Everything is in motion around you: here, the people of one quarter of a town are met to decide upon the building of a church; there, the election of a representative is going on; a little farther, the delegates of a district are posting to the town in order to consult upon some local improvements; or, in another place, the labourers of a village quit their ploughs to deliberate upon the project of a road or a public school. Meetings are called for the sole purpose of declaring their disapprobation of the line of conduct pursued by the Government; whilst, in other assemblies, the citizens salute the authorities of the day as the fathers of their country. Societies are formed which regard drunkenness as the principal cause of the evils under which the state labours, and which solemnly bind themselves to give a constant example of temperance."*

The great system of nature thus expands to our view. The democratic principle is the great moving power which expels from the old established centres of civilisation the race of men to distant and unpeopled regions; which in the ancient world spread it with the Athenian galleys along the shores of the Mediterranean, and with the Roman legions penetrated the dark and savage forests of central Europe; which laid the foundation in the kingdoms formed out of its provinces of the supremacy of modern Europe, and is now with the British navy extending as far as the

* Tocqueville, ii. 126, 127.

waters of the ocean roll; peopling at once the new continent of Australasia and supplanting the sable millions of Africa; piercing the primeval forests of Canada, and advancing with unceasing velocity towards the rocky mountains of America. Nor is it only by the subjects of Britain that this impelling force is felt. It exists in equal vigour among their descendants; and from the seats where the Puritan contemporaries of Cromwell first sought an asylum from English oppression, an incessant craving, an unseen power, is for ever impelling multitudes to the yet untrodden forests of the West.

"It cannot be denied," says M. de Tocqueville, "that the British race has acquired an amazing preponderance over all the other European races in the New World; and that it is very superior to them in civilisation, in industry, and in power. As long as it is only surrounded by desert or thinly peopled countries, as long as it encounters no dense population upon its route, through which it cannot work its way, it will assuredly continue to spread. The lines marked out by treaties will not stop it; but it will everywhere transgress these imaginary barriers.

"The geographical position of the British race in the New World is peculiarly favourable to its rapid increase. Above its northern frontiers the icy regions of the Pole extend; and a few degrees below its southern confines lies the burning climate of the equator. The Anglo-Americans are, therefore, placed in the most temperate and habitable zone of the continent.

"The distance from Lake Superior to the Gulf of Mexico extends from the 47th to the 30th degree of

latitude, a distance of more than twelve hundred miles, as the bird flies. The frontier of the United States winds along the whole of this immense line; sometimes falling within its limits, but more frequently extending far beyond it into the waste. It has been calculated that the whites advance every year a mean distance of seventeen miles along the whole of this vast boundary. Obstacles, such as an unproductive district, a lake, or an Indian nation unexpectedly encountered, are sometimes met with. The advancing column then halts for a while; its two extremities fall back upon themselves, and as soon as they are reunited they proceed onwards. This gradual and continuous progress of the European race towards the Rocky Mountains has the solemnity of a providential event: it is like a deluge of men rising unabatedly, and daily driven onwards by the hand of God.

"Within this first line of conquering settlers, towns are built, and vast states founded. In 1790, there were only a few thousand pioneers sprinkled along the valleys of the Mississippi; and at the present day these valleys contain as many inhabitants as were to be found in the whole union in 1790. Their population amounts to nearly four millions. The city of Washington was founded in 1800, in the very centre of the Union; but such are the changes which have taken place, that it now stands at one of the extremities; and the delegates of the most remote Western States are already obliged to perform a journey as long as that from Vienna to Paris.

"It must not, then, be imagined that the impulse of the British race in the New World can be arrested. The dismemberment of the Union, and the hostilities

which might ensue, the abolition of republican institutions, and the tyrannical government which might succeed it, may retard this impulse, but they cannot prevent it from ultimately fulfilling the destinies to which that race is reserved. No power upon earth can close upon the emigrants that fertile wilderness, which offers resources to every kind of industry, and a refuge from all want. Future events, of whatever nature they may be, will not deprive the Americans of their climate or of their inland seas, of their great rivers, or of their exuberant soil. Nor will bad laws, revolutions and anarchy, be able to obliterate that love of prosperity, and that spirit of enterprise which seem to be the distinctive characteristics of their race, or to extinguish that knowledge which guides them on their way.

"Thus, in the midst of the uncertain future, one event at least is sure. At a period which may be said to be near (for we are speaking of the life of a nation,) the Anglo-Americans will alone cover the immense space contained between the Polar regions and the Tropics, extending from the coast of the Atlantic to the shores of the Pacific Ocean; the territory which will probably be occupied by the Anglo-Americans at some future time, may be computed to equal three quarters of Europe in extent. The climate of the Union is upon the whole preferable to that of Europe, and its natural advantages are not less great; it is, therefore, evident, that its population will at some future time be proportionate to our own. Europe, divided as it is between so many different nations, and torn as it has been by incessant wars and the barbarous manners of the middle ages, has notwithstanding

attained a population of 410 inhabitants to the square league. What cause can prevent the United States from having as numerous a population in time?

"The time will therefore come when one hundred and fifty millions of men will be living in North America, equal in condition, the progeny of one race, owing their origin to the same cause, and preserving the same civilisation, the same language, the same religion, the same habits, the same manners, and imbued with the same opinions, propagated under the same forms. The rest is uncertain, but this is certain; and it is a fact new to the world, a fact fraught with such portentous consequences as to baffle the efforts even of the imagination."*

As the democratic passion, however, is thus evidently the great moving power which is transferring the civilized European race to the remote corners of the earth, and the British navy, the vast vehicle raised up to supreme dominion, for its conveyance; so it is of the utmost importance to observe, that if undue power is given to this impelling force, the machine which is performing these prodigies may be destroyed, and the central force, instead of operating with a steady and salutary pressure upon mankind, suddenly burst its barriers, and for ever cease to affect their fortunes. A spring acts upon a machine only as long as it is loaded or restrained; remove the pressure, and its strength is at once destroyed. This powerful and astonishing agency of the British race upon the fortunes of mankind, would be at once terminated by the triumph of democracy in these islands. Multitudes, indeed, during the convulsions consequent on so calamitous an event, would fly for refuge to the American

* Tocqueville, ii. 321, 324.

shores, but in the grinding and irreversible despotism which would necessarily and speedily follow its occurrence, the vital energy would become extinct, which is now impelling the British race into every corner of the habitable earth. The stillness of despotism would succeed the agitation of passion; the inertness of aged civilisation at once fall upon the bounded state. From the moment that British freedom is extinguished by the overthrow of the influence of property, and the erection of the Commons into despotic power, the sacred fire which now animates the vast fabric of its dominion will become extinct, and England will cease to direct the destinies of half the globe. The friends of order and measured freedom in this country, therefore, are not merely charged with the preservation of its own fortunes—they are intrusted with the destinies of mankind, and on the success of their exertions it depends, whether the democratic spirit in these islands is to be preserved as heretofore, in that subdued form which has directed its energy to the civilisation of mankind, or to burst forth in those wild excesses which turn only to its own ruin, and the desolation of the world.

While the naval strength and colonial dominions of England have steadily and unceasingly advanced in Western Europe, and its influence is in consequence spread over all the maritime regions of the globe, another, and an equally irresistible power, has risen up in the Eastern Hemisphere. If all the contests of centuries have turned to the advantage of the English navy, all the continental strifes have as unceasingly augmented the strength of RUSSIA. From the time of the Czar Peter, when it first emerged from obscurity to take a leading part in continental affairs, to

the present moment, its progress has been unbroken. Alone, of all other states, during that long period it has experienced no reverses, but constantly advanced in power, territory, and resources; for even the peace of Tilsit, which followed the disasters of Austerlitz and Friedland, was attended with an accession of territory. During that period it has successively swallowed up Courland and Livonia, Poland, Finland, the Crimea, the Ukraine, Wallachia, and Moldavia. Its southern frontier is now washed by the Danube; its eastern is within fifty leagues of Berlin and Vienna; its advanced ports in the Baltic are almost within sight of Stockholm; its south-eastern boundary, stretching far over the Caucasus, sweeps down to Erivan and the foot of Mount Ararat—Persia and Turkey are irrevocably subjected to its influence; a solemn treaty has given it the command of the Dardanelles; a subsidiary Moscovite force has visited Scutari, and rescued the Osmanlis from destruction; and the Sultan Mahmoud retains Constantinople only as the viceroy of the northern autocrat.

The politicians of the day assert that Russia will fall to pieces, and its power cease to be formidable to Western Europe or Central Asia. There appears to be no ground for this opinion. Did Macedonia fall to pieces before it had subdued the Greecian Commonwealths; or Persia before it had conquered the Assyrian monarchy; or the Goths and Vandals before they had subverted the Roman empire? It is the general pressure of the north upon the south, not the force of any single state, which is the weight that is to be apprehended; that pressure will not be lessened, but on the contrary greatly increased, if the vast Scythian

tribes should separate into different empires. Though one Moscovite throne were to be established at St Petersburgh, a second at Moscow, and a third at Constantinople, the general pressure of the Russian race, upon the southern states of Europe and Asia, would not be diminished. Still the delight of a warmer climate, the riches of a long established civilisation, the fruits and wines of the south, the women of Italy or Circassia, would attract the brood of winter to the regions of the sun. The various tribes of the German race, the Gothic and Vandal swarms, the Huns and the Ostrogoths, were engaged in fierce and constant hostility with each other; and it was generally defeat and pressure from behind which impelled them upon their southern neighbours; but that did not prevent them from bursting the barriers of the Danube and the Rhine, and overwhelming the civilisation, and wealth, and discipline of the Roman empire. Such internal divisions only magnify the strength of the northern race by training them to the use of arms, and augmenting their military skill by constant exercises against each other; just as the long continued internal wars of the European nations have established an irresistible superiority of their forces over those of the other quarters of the globe. In the end, the weight of the north thus matured, drawn forth and disciplined, will ever be turned to the fields of southern conquest.

The moving power with these vast bodies of men is the lust of conquest, and a passion for southern enjoyment. Democracy is unheeded or unknown amongst them; if imported from foreign lands it languishes and expires amidst the rigours of the climate. The

energy and aspirations of men, are concentrated on conquest; a passion more natural, more durable, more universal than the democratic vigour of advanced civilisation. It speaks a language intelligible to the rudest of men; and rouses passions of universal vehemence. Great changes may take place in human affairs; but the time will never come when northern valour will not press on southern wealth; or refined corruption not require the renovating influence of indigent regeneration.

This then is the other great moving power which in these days of transition is changing the destinies of mankind. Rapid as is the growth of the British race in America, it is not more rapid than that of the Russian in Europe and Asia. Sixty millions of men now furnish recruits to the Moscovite standards; but their race doubles in every half century; and before the year 1900, one hundred and fifty millions of men will be ready to pour from the frozen plains of Scythia on the plains of central Asia and southern Europe. Occasional events may check or for a while turn aside the wave; but its ultimate progress in these directions is certain and irresistible. Before two centuries are over, Mahometism will be banished from Turkey, Asia Minor, and Persia, and a hundred millions of Christians will be settled in the regions now desolated by the standards of the Prophet. Their advance is as swift, as unceasing as that of the British race to the rocky belt of Western America.

"There are, at the present time," says M. Tocqueville, "two great nations in the world, which seem to tend towards the same end, although they started from different points: I allude to the Russians and

the Americans. Both of them have grown up unnoticed; and whilst the attention of mankind was directed elsewhere, they have suddenly assumed a most prominent place amongst the nations; and the world learned their existence and their greatness at almost the same time.

"All other nations seem to have nearly reached their natural limits, and only to be charged with the maintenance of their power; but these are still in the act of growth, all the others are stopped, or continue to advance with extreme difficulty; these are proceeding with ease and with celerity along a path to which the human eye can assign no term. The American struggles against the natural obstacles which oppose him; the adversaries of the Russian are men: the former combats the wilderness and savage life; the latter, civilisation with all its weapons and its arts: the conquests of the one are therefore gained by the ploughshare; those of the other by the sword. The Anglo-American relies upon personal interest to accomplish his ends, and gives free scope to the unguided exertions and common sense of the citizens; the Russian centres all the authority of society in a single arm;—the principal instrument of the former is freedom; of the latter, servitude. Their starting-point is different, and their courses are not the same; yet each of them seems to be marked out by the will of Heaven to sway the destinies of half the globe."*

There is something solemn and evidently providential in this ceaseless advance of the lords of the earth and the sea, into the deserted regions of the earth. The hand of Almighty Power is distinctly visible, not only in the unbroken advance of both on their respec-

* Tocqueville, ii. 334, 337.

tive elements, but in the evident adaptation of the passions, habits, and government of each to the ends for which they were severally destined in the designs of Nature. Would Russian conquest have ever peopled the dark and untrodden forests of North America, or the deserted Savannahs of Australasia? Would the passions and the desires of the north have ever led them into the abode of the beaver and the buffalo? Never; for aught that their passions could have done these regions must have remained in primeval solitude and silence to the end of time. Could English democracy ever have penetrated the half-peopled, half-desert regions of Asia, and Christian civilisation, spreading in peaceful activity, have supplanted the crescent in the original seats of the human race? Never; the isolated colonist, with his axe and his Bible, would have been swept away by the Mameluke or the Spahi, and civilisation, in its peaceful guise, would have perished under the squadrons of the Crescent. For aught that democracy could have done for Central Asia, it must have remained the abode of anarchy and misrule to the end of human existence. But peaceful Christianity, urged on by democratic passions, pierced the primeval solitude of the American forests; and warlike Christianity, stimulated by northern conquest, was fitted to subdue Central Asia and Eastern Europe. The Bible and the printing-press converted the wilderness of North America into the abode of Christian millions; the Moscovite battalions, marching under the standard of the Cross, subjugated the already peopled regions of the Mussulman faith. Not without reason then did the British navy and the Russian army emerge triumphant from the desperate

strife of the French Revolution; for on the victory of each depended the destinies of half the globe.

Democratic institutions will not, and cannot, exist permanently in North America. The frightful anarchy which has prevailed in the southern states, since the great interests dependent on slave emancipation were brought into jeopardy—the irresistible sway of the majority, and the rapid tendency of that majority to deeds of atrocity and blood—the increasing jealousy, on mercantile grounds, of the northern and southern states, all demonstrate that the union cannot permanently hold together, and that the innumerable millions of the Anglo-American race must be divided into separate states, like the descendants of the Gothic conquerors of Europe. Out of this second great settlement of mankind will arise separate kingdoms, and interests, and passions, as out of the first. But democratic habits and desires will still prevail, and long after necessity and the passions of an advanced stage of civilisation have established firm and aristocratic governments, founded on the sway of property in the old states, republican ambition and jealousy will not cease to impel millions to the great wave that approaches the Rocky Mountains. Democratic ideas will not be moderated in the New World, till they have performed their destined end, and brought the Christian race to the shores of the Pacific.

Arbitrary institutions will not for ever prevail in the Russian empire. As successive provinces and kingdoms are added to their vast dominions—as their sway extends over the regions of the south, the abode of wealth and long established civilisation, the passion for conquest will expire. Satiety will extinguish this

as it does all other desires. With the acquisition of wealth, and the settlement in fixed abodes, the longing for protection from arbitrary power will spring up, and the passion of freedom will arise as it did in Greece, Italy, and modern Europe. Free institutions will ultimately appear in the realms conquered by Moscovite as they did in those won by Gothic valour. But the passions and desires of an earlier stage of existence will long agitate the millions of the Russo-Asiatic race; and after democratic institutions have arisen, and free institutions exist in its oldest provinces, the wave of northern conquest will still be pressed on by semi-barbarous hordes from its remoter dominions. Freedom will gradually arise out of security and repose; but the fever of conquest will not be finally extinguished till it has performed its destined mission, and the standards of the Cross are brought down to the Indian Ocean.

As the antagonist principles of conquest and consequent aristocracy and democracy, and consequent colonisation, are thus the great moving powers destined to complete the eternal designs of Providence for the peopling and cultivation of the earth; so it is by the influence of one or both that society in every age is governed, and the advance of the species rendered, upon the whole, consistent with its happiness. Unrestrained by the superincumbent weight of aristocratic power,—undirected by the far-seeing sagacity of aristocratic foresight,—unsustained by the tenacity of aristocratic resolution, democratic vigour would soon tear society in pieces, or waste itself in useless and pernicious explosions; and from the experience of the suffering it had induced, the stillness of

despotism would speedily be, as it has so often been, induced. Uninvigorated by the ardour of popular passion; unmoulded by the vigour of popular desire; undisciplined by the collision with popular talents; aristocratic power would speedily, as it has so often done, degenerate into mere selfish oppression, and the energies of rising civilisation be arrested under the weight of patrician power. As the balance of the physical world, both in its greatest and its least operations, is preserved by the opposing expansive powers of central heat, and the aqueous deposit of superincumbent strata; as the planets are retained in their orbits by the counteracting forces of gravitation and centrifugal force,—so the moral world is at once invigorated and restrained by the antagonist forces of aristocracy and democracy, the opposite desires of preservation and acquisition, which, at once directing the greatest and the least operations of the moral world, are to be found equally in the strife of village politicians as the contests of empires, or the social convulsions of mankind. Upon the due equipoise of these contending principles, the advancement and welfare of the species are mainly dependent; and it can never be duly preserved for any considerable period, but by the spread and influence of that faith which, coercing without extinguishing the passions of the heart, moderates their fervour, and renders them the fountains of blessings, not the sources of ruin to humanity.

The French Revolution was the greatest and the most stupendous event of modern times; it is from the throes consequent on its explosion that the chief subsequent changes in human affairs have arisen. It

sprung up in the spirit of infidelity; it was early steeped in crime; it reached the unparalleled height of general atheism, and shook all the thrones of the world by the fiery passions which it awakened. What was the final result of this second revolt of Lucifer, the Prince of the Morning? Was it that a great and durable impression on human affairs was made by the infidel race? Was St Michael at last chained by the demon? No! it was overruled by Almighty Power; on either side it found the brazen walls which it could not pass; it sunk in the conflict, and ceased to have any farther direct influence on human affairs. In defiance of all its efforts, the British navy and the Russian army rose invincible above its arms; the champions of Christianity in the East, and the leaders of religious freedom in the West, came forth, like giants refreshed with wine, from the termination of the fight. The infidel race which aimed at the dominion of the world, served only by their efforts to increase the strength of its destined rulers; and from amidst the ruins of its power emerged the Ark, which was to carry the tidings of salvation to the Western, and the invincible Host which was to spread the glad tidings of the Gospel through the Eastern world.

Great, however, as were the powers thus let into human affairs, their operation must have been comparatively slow, and their influence inconsiderable, but for another circumstance which at the same time came into action. But a survey of human affairs leads to the conclusion, that when important changes in the social world are about to take place, a lever is not long of being supplied to work out the prodigy. With the great religious change of the sixteenth cen-

tury arose the art of printing; with the vast revolutions of the nineteenth, an agent of equal efficacy was provided. At the time when the fleets of England were riding omnipotent on the ocean, at the very moment when the gigantic hosts of infidel and revolutionary power were scattered by the icy breath of winter, STEAM NAVIGATION was brought into action, and an agent appeared upon the theatre of the universe, destined to break through the most formidable barriers of nature. In January 1812, not one steam-vessel existed in the world; now, on the Mississippi alone, there are a hundred and sixty. Vain hereafter are the waterless deserts of Persia, or the snowy ridges of the Himalaya—vain the impenetrable forests of America, or the deadly jungles of Asia. Even the death-bestridden gales of the Niger must yield to the force of scientific enterprise, and the fountains of the Nile themselves emerge from the awful obscurity of six thousand years. The great rivers of the world are now the highways of civilisation and religion. The Russian battalions will securely commit themselves to the waves of the Euphrates, and waft again to the plains of Shinar the blessings of regular government and a beneficent faith; remounting the St Lawrence and the Missouri, the British emigrants will carry into the solitudes of the far west the Bible, and the wonders of English genius.—Spectators of, or actors in, so marvellous a progress, let us act as becomes men called to such mighty destinies in human affairs; let us never forget that it is to *regulated freedom* alone that these wonders are to be ascribed; and contemplate in the degraded and impotent condition of France, when placed beside these giants of the

earth, the natural and deserved result of the revolutionary passions and unbridled ambition which extinguish prospects once as fair, and destroyed energies once as powerful, as that which now directs the destinies of half the globe.

We may look forward, therefore, to the future and indefinite increase of mankind without dismay; and rest assured that, as long as all classes are protected from oppression, and justice faithfully administered, the increase of the species will bring about the developement of the causes destined for its regulation. It is in vain, indeed, to expect that the time will ever arrive when poverty will be unknown, or vice obsolete; when charity will cease to be required from the affluent, or patience to be called forth in the privations of the poor. But without indulging in any anticipations of the future, which are not founded on the experience of the past, it may confidently be expected, that, as mankind increase in numbers, they will advance in prosperity; that the laws of justice will be more generally established, from an extended sense of their expedience; and that, with the growth of the species, the sum of happiness will be augmented, and the security for its continuance improved.

What Cicero in his usual strain of eloquence has said of the planetary motions, is equally applicable to the moral world. "Maxime vero sunt admirabiles motus earum quinque stellarum quae *falso vocantur errantes;* nihil enim errat quod in omni eternitate conservat progressus et regressus, reliquos motus constantes et ratos."* In the uniform irregularity of the heavenly bodies, the Roman philosopher traced

* De Nat. Deor Lib. ii.

the appearance of order and design; and his words are still more important, if applied to the corresponding aberrations in the social world; to the anomalies we observe in the history of nations, and the confusions we lament in the transactions of mankind. Like the planetary orbs, nations have their rise, their zenith and their wane; like them, too, they disappear for a time from our view; but when we apprehend their utter extinction, they appear again on the firmament of Heaven, to begin anew the career they are destined to run. At the time in which Cicero wrote, the laws which regulate the heavenly motions were unknown, and at the present time the laws of the moral world are in some measure unknown also; yet it is our duty, as it was his duty, to trace amidst these apparent irregularities the great features and character of design, and to hope that the same order which has been unfolded in the material, may yet, in a future age, be completely developed in the still more magnificent system of the moral world. It was the maxim of the Romans in their best days, never to despair of the Republic; it should be the maxim of every good man never to despair of mankind.

TO INCREASE AND MULTIPLY was the first command of God to an infant world. It is in vain that human wisdom contrasts this precept with the limited extent of the globe, and deduces imaginary dangers from its literal fulfilments. For the desert world in which he was originally placed, such a precept was indispensable; and its obedience was secured by the active propensities implanted in the human breast. But it is not less a divine precept to DO JUSTICE AND TO LOVE MERCY; and the last of these commands, is-

sued in a more advanced age, if duly obeyed, has removed all possibility of danger from the first. To coerce the increase of mankind, where it might be attended with suffering, other principles are provided, which are successively developed as the circumstances of society require their operation; and these desires grow with the growth, and strengthen with the happiness of man. Buried at times under the weight of human oppression, crushed by the suffering which man inflicts upon his brethren, they are inseparably blended with the springs of improvement, and expand with the first dawn of justice or beneficence. All institutions which do not permit the developement of these principles involve in themselves the seeds of their own decay; length of existence is assigned to nations only in proportion as they favour their operation; with the spread of the Christian faith and obedience to Christian precept, they acquire greater influence, and become the instruments of more extended beneficence.

To give free scope to these provisions of Nature, no sacrifices are required of the individual; no exertions of mere human wisdom from the statesman; the former is led by his increasing desires to modify his conduct according to the interests of society; the latter, in following the dictates of justice and benevolence, to pursue the course best adapted to the welfare of mankind. To attain these beneficent objects, it is only necessary to favour the growth of industry, and establish the blessings of regulated freedom; to assuage distress wherever it exists; to check oppression wherever it appears; and, disregarding alike the clamour of ignorance or the

supposed expedience of knowledge, to follow steadily that inward monitor which Nature has implanted in every human heart, and the precepts of which are entirely in unison with the injunctions of that Faith, which, by proclaiming peace and good will to mankind, has laid the only real foundation for social improvement or general happiness. By so doing he will establish public prosperity on the securest of all foundations, the firm basis of individual welfare, and intrust the happiness of so many millions of mankind, not to a being who may be influenced by worldly passions and who may err, but to One who is above all earthly passions, and never can err.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

Appendix A, Chapter XI. p. 120.

The grounds on which the calculation in the text is founded of the quantity of spirits consumed are twofold, and as they lead to nearly the same result, little doubt, it is thought, can be entertained of its accuracy.

In the first place, the quantity of gallons entered for home consumption over all Scotland is	6,620,000
Present population,	2,550,000
Proportion per head, 2¾ gallons, or 16 bottles.	

From the high wages earned by the greater part of the skilled operatives in Glasgow, which average from twenty to thirty-five shillings per week, being considerably more than double of the average earnings of labourers over all Scotland, and from the well known habits of intoxication which prevail in that city, to a much greater extent than in the rural districts, no doubt can be entertained that the quantity annually consumed over head in Glasgow is at least double what it is over all Scotland. Six gallons a head, therefore, may be taken as a reasonable average of the consumption by the population of Glasgow, and, taking each gallon as sold by the retail price at 15s., the account will stand thus:

Present population,	290,000
Total whisky consumed, six gallons each,	1,740,000
Value of which sold by retail at 15s. a gallon, say	L. 1,300,000

The same result is arrived at by a different process. There are within the Parliamentary limits of Glasgow about 3000 shop-

keepers dealing in spirits, of which nearly 1200 are in the royalty, properly so called, and 1800 in the suburbs. The average rent of these shops may be taken at L. 20 each, which will give L. 60,000 a year for the rent of the spirit-shops. The average profits of the tenant of each shop will probably be twice and a half the rent, which would make the profits of the spirit-dealers about L. 150,000 a year. The profits of the retailer, again, are on an average 20 per cent. on the gross sales, so that L.210,000 a year of profit, divided between the landlord and tenant, would imply sales to the amount of five times that sum, or L. 1,050,000 a-year. The medium between these sums is L. 1,200,000, being the sum at which the value of the whisky consumed in Glasgow is stated in the text. To show the enormous addition to human happiness and virtue which might be made, if this immense sum were better disposed of, the following sketch is submitted of the way in which it might be distributed; and it proceeds upon the supposition that the value of whisky consumed by the working classes is L. 1,000,000, and that two gallons, or 12 bottles per head, is allowed to the whole population, for the reasonable support or exhilaration of human nature, viz.:

Value of whisky annually consumed by working classes,		L. 1,000,000
Two gallons each to 290,000 persons, at 10s. per gallon,	L. 290,000	
Amount spent in clothes, furniture, and domestic comforts,	210,000	
Deposits in saving-banks,	200,000	
Life assurance,	200,000	
Moral and religious education,	50,000	
Mental enjoyments, as reading, circulating libraries, &c. &c.	50,000	
		L. 1,000,000

It may safely be affirmed, that, if the sum annually expended on spirits were thus disposed of, the working classes in Glasgow would, in twenty years, become the most moral and prosperous class of society that exists in the world, and poverty and crime would be almost entirely banished from their ranks, instead of being, as now, one of the most depraved and suffering.

Note B, Chapter XI. p. 15.

The House of Refuge in Glasgow, alluded to in the text, was constructed a few years ago at a cost of nearly fifteen thou-

sand pounds, but only two years have elapsed since it was opened for the reception of inmates. Since that period, however, it has already produced the most marked effect upon the progress of juvenile depravity in Glasgow. The number of juvenile male thieves within the bounds of the Glasgow police has diminished to the extent of about a half, while the juvenile female depredators, for whom there is no similar institution, have increased almost in the same proportion. But what is still more remarkable is the account which the children admitted into this asylum have given of their previous habits, and those of their parents. These highly curious annals of crime show in the clearest manner the fatal influence of the drinking of whisky upon the lowest classes of the people; for out of 234 boys who at present are in the institution, it appears from their own account, that the drunkenness of their parents stood thus:

Had drunken fathers, -	72
Drunken mothers, - -	69
Both fathers and mothers drunkards,	62

So that upwards of two-thirds of the whole boys in the institution have been precipitated into crime through the habits of intoxication of one or both of their parents. The boys all state that, till they were taken into the House of Refuge, they lived two-thirds of their time in the low public-houses in the centre of Glasgow, and that their enjoyments there, for they were all mostly under the age of puberty, were, drinking, smoking, and swearing. These boys, however, when admitted into the institution, and taught, either the rudiments of knowledge, or different useful trades, exhibit generally not only a great degree of diligence and industry, but, in many instances, a most remarkable amount of quickness and talent; qualities amply sufficient to show that, when reformed by some years of the discipline of such an establishment, and instructed in separate trades by its tuition, they would form most valuable acquisitions to any of the colonies of the empire. Hardly any hope can be entertained, however, of their not relapsing into the paths of iniquity, if, even after a great number of years of discipline in the institution, they are permitted again to get out on the streets of Glasgow, and asso-

ciate with their old companions. The only effectual way of preserving to them the habits which they have acquired, and the industry which they have learned in the House of Refuge, is to furnish to them the means of emigrating as soon as they leave the institution; and if this were done, and means taken on the other side of the Atlantic, or the Indian Ocean, to place these young men in tolerable situations, they would not only be almost certain of doing well, but the incipient thieves of Glasgow would be converted into a perennial source of prosperity to the New World.

It is worthy of particular notice, as a proof how indispensable public assessment to the maintenance of all great and really useful establishments, in an advanced and complicated state of society, that, nothwithstanding the unbounded liberality of the Glasgow merchants, and the readiness with which this institution was first set on foot by their subscriptions, such have been the demands upon them from still more pressing objects of necessity and charity, that it has been found impracticable to maintain the necessary current expenses of this establishment. The directors have, in consequence, made a pressing application to the county of Lanark, to a consent on their part for an assessment being laid upon the lower ward of the county to support its expenses; and unless such an assessment is imposed, it is already distinctly foreseen that this noble and beneficent institution must shortly be closed.

APPENDIX A, p. 320.

TABLE exhibiting the Crimes committed in France against persons and property, contrasted with the Instruction of the people throughout the eighty-six departments in that kingdom.

No.	DEPARTMENTS.	CRIMES against persons, 1 accused out of inhabitants.	CRIMES against property, 1 accused out of inhabitants.	INSTRUCTION. No. of young men knowing how to read and write out of 100 inscribed.
1	Corse,	2,199	4,589	49
2	Lot,	5,885	9,049	24
3	Ariège,	6,173	9,597	18
4	PyrenneesOrientales,	6,728	7,632	31
5	Haut Rhin,	7,343	4,915	71
6	Lozère,	7,710	5,990	27
7	Aveyron,	8,236	6,731	31
8	Ardoche,	9,474	10,263	73
9	Doubs,	11,560	5,914	34
10	Moselle,	12,153	4,529	57
11	Hautes Pyrennées,	12,223	9,797	53
12	Bas Rhin,	12,309	4,920	62
13	Seine et Oise,	12,477	3,879	56
14	Herault,	12,814	10,954	46
15	Basses Alpes,	12,935	7,289	20
16	Tarn,	13,019	6,241	40
17	Gard,	13,115	7,990	36
18	Var,	13,145	9,572	23
19	Drome,	13,396	7,759	42
20	Bouches de Rhône,	13,409	5,291	38
21	Vaucluse,	13,576	5,731	37
22	Seine,	13,945	1,368	71
23	Tarn et Garonne,	14,790	8,680	25
24	Eure,	14,795	4,774	51
25	Vienne,	15,010	4,710	25
26	Correze,	15,262	12,949	12
27	Marne,	15,602	4,950	63
28	Aude,	15,647	10,431	34
29	Haute Loire,	16,170	18,043	21
30	Haute Vienne,	16,256	6,402	13
31	Basses Pyrennées,	17,085	8,533	47
32	Puy du Dome,	17,256	12,141	19
33	Hautes Alpes,	17,488	8,174	69
34	Calvados,	17,577	4,500	52
35	Landes,	17,687	6,170	28
36	Loiret,	17,722	5,042	42
37	Yonne,	18,006	6,516	47
38	Cantal,	18,070	11,645	31
39	Seine Inferieure,	18,355	2,906	43
40	Deux Sevres,	18,400	6,863	41
41	Haute Garonne,	18,642	7,204	31
42	Gers,	18,642	10,486	38
43	Charante Inferieure,	18,712	5,357	39

Table continued.

No.	Departments.	Crimes against persons, 1 accused out of inhabitants.	Crimes against property, 1 accused out of inhabitants.	Instruction. No. of young men knowing how to read and write out of 100 inscribed.
44	Isére,	18,785	8,326	29
45	Rhone,	18,793	4,504	45
46	Vosges,	18,835	9,044	62
47	Indre et Loire,	19,131	6,909	27
48	Loire Inferieure,	19,314	9,392	24
49	Aube,	19,602	4,086	59
50	Vendée,	20,827	7,566	28
51	Loire et Cher,	21,292	6,017	27
52	Eure et Loire,	21,368	4,016	54
53	Dordogne,	21,585	10,237	18
54	Cher,	21,934	10,503	13
55	Ille et Villaine,	22,138	6,524	25
56	Seine et Marne,	22,201	5,786	54
57	Haute Saône,	22,339	7,770	59
58	Lot et Garonne,	22,969	8,943	31
59	Pas de Calais,	23,101	4,040	49
60	Morbihan,	23,316	7,940	14
61	Gironde,	24,096	7,423	40
62	Meuse,	24,507	9,190	74
63	Charente,	24,964	13,018	36
64	Nievre,	25,087	8,236	20
65	Jura,	26,221	8,059	73
66	Aisne,	26,226	5,521	51
67	Haute Marne,	26,231	9,539	72
68	Meurthé,	26,574	6,831	68
69	Nord,	26,740	6,175	45
70	Allier,	26,747	7,925	13
71	Loire,	27,491	12,665	29
72	Oise,	28,180	6,659	54
73	Orne,	28,329	8,248	45
74	Mayenne,	28,331	9,198	19
75	Cotes du Nord,	28,607	7,059	16
76	Saône et Loire,	28,391	10,078	32
77	Aire,	28,870	15,890	37
78	Maine et Loire,	29,592	8,502	23
79	Finisterre,	29,872	6,842	15
80	Manche,	31,078	7,424	43
81	Coté d'Or,	32,256	9,519	60
82	Indre,	32,404	7,624	17
83	Somme,	33,592	7,144	44
84	Sarthe,	33,913	8,294	36
85	Ardennes,	35,203	8,847	67
86	Creuse,	37,014	20,235	23

—Guerry's Tables, folio, Paris, 1829, and quoted in Bulwer's France, ii. 177.

NOTE A, CHAP. XV. p. 358.

TABLE showing the Progress of British and Foreign Shipping from the year 1801 to 1822, both inclusive.

Years.	British.		Foreign.		Total.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
1801,	4,987	922,594	5,497	780,155	10,484	1,702,749
1802,	7,806	1,333,005	3,728	480,251	11,534	1,813,256
1803,	6,264	1,115,702	4,254	638,104	10,518	1,753,806
1804,	4,865	904,932	4,271	607,299	9,136	1,512,231
1805,	5,167	953,250	4,517	691,883	9,684	1,645,133
1806,	5,211	904,367	3,793	612,904	9,004	1,517,271
1807,	...	...	4,087	680,144	...	...
1808,	...	...	1,926	283,657	..	...
1809,	5,615	938,675	4,922	759,287	10,537	1,697,962
1810,	5,154	896,001	6,876	1,176,243	12,030	2,072,244
1811,	...	...	3,216	687,180	...	...
*1812,	...	...	...	...	...	...
*1813,	...	...	...	...	...	...
1814,	8,975	1,290,248	5,286	599,287	14,261	1,889,535
1815,	8,880	1,372,108	5,314	746,985	14,194	2,119,093
1816,	9,744	1,415,723	3,116	379,465	12,860	1,795,188
1817,	11,255	1,625,121	3,396	445,011	14,651	2,070,132
1818,	13,006	1,886,394	6,238	762,457	19,244	2,648,851
1819,	11,974	1,809,128	4,215	542,684	16,189	2,351,812
1820,	11,285	1,668,060	3,472	447,611	14,757	2,115,671
1821,	10,810	1,599,274	3,261	396,256	14,071	1,995,530
1822,	11,087	1,664,186	3,389	469,151	14,476	2,133,337

—Porter's Progress of the Nation, ii. 174.

* Records destroyed by fire.

NOTE B, Chap. XV. p. 359.

TABLE showing the Progress, &c. from 1823 to 1836, both inclusive.

Years.	British.		Foreign.		Total.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
1823,	11,271	1,740,859	4,069	582,996	15,340	2,323,855
1824,	11,733	1,797,320	5,653	759,441	17,386	2,556,761
1825,	13,516	2,144,598	6,986	958,132	20,484	3,102,730
1826,	12,473	1,950,630	5,729	694,116	18,202	2,644,746
1827,	13,133	2,086,898	6,046	751,864	19,179	2,839,762
1828,	13,436	2,094,357	4,955	634,620	18,391	2,728,977
1829,	13,659	2,184,525	5,218	710,303	18,877	2,894,828
1830,	13,548	2,180,042	5,359	758,828	18,907	2,938,870
1831,	14,488	2,367,322	6,085	874,605	20,573	3,241,927
1832,	13,372	2,185,980	4,546	639,979	17,918	2,825,959
1833,	13,119	2,183,814	5,505	762,085	18,624	2,945,899
1834,	13,903	2,298,263	5,894	833,905	19,797	3,132,168
1835,	14,295	2,442,734	6,005	866,990	20,300	3,309,724
1836,	14,347	2,505,473	7,131	988,899	21,478	3,494,372

—Porter's Progress of the Nation, ii. 175.

TABLE C, p. 359.

Vessels belonging to the United Kingdom and its Dependencies from the year 1803 to 1822 inclusive.

Years.	United Kingdom and Possessions in Europe.		Colonies.		Total.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
1803,	18,068	1,966,076	2,825	181,787	20,893	2,167,863
1804,	18,870	2,077,061	2,904	191,509	21,774	2,268,570
1805,	19,027	2,092,489	3,024	190,953	22,051	2,283,442
1806,	19,315	2,079,914	2,867	183,800	22,182	2,263,714
1807,	19,373	2,096,827	2,917	184,794	22,290	2,281,621
1808,	19,580	2,130,396	3,066	194,423	22,646	2,324,819
1809,	19,882	2,167,221	3,188	201,247	23,070	2,368,468
1810,	20,253	2,210,661	3,450	215,383	23,703	2,426,044
1811,	20,478	2,247,322	3,628	227,452	24,106	2,474,774
*1814,	21,550	2,414,170	2,868	202,795	24,418	2,616,965
1815,	21,869	2,447,831	2,991	203,445	24,860	2,681,276
1816,	22,026	2,504,290	3,775	279,643	25,801	2,783,933
1817,	21,775	2,421,354	3,571	243,632	25,346	2,664,986
1818,	22,024	2,452,608	3,483	221,860	25,507	2,674,468
1819,	21,997	2,451,597	3,485	214,799	25,482	2,666,396
1820,	21,969	2,439,029	3,045	209,564	25,374	2,648,593
1821,	21,652	2,355,853	3,384	204,350	25,036	2,560,203
1822,	21,238	2,315,403	3,404	203,641	24,642	2,519,044

* The records of 1812 and 1813 were destroyed at the burning of the Custom-House.

TABLE D, p. 359.

Vessels belonging to the United Kingdom and its Dependencies from the year 1823 to 1836.

Years.	United Kingdom and Possessions in Europe.		Colonies.		Total.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
1823,	21,042	2,302,867	3,500	203,893	24,542	2,506,760
1824,	21,280	2,348,314	3,496	211,273	24,776	2,559,587
1825,	20,701	2,328,807	3,579	214,875	24,280	2,553,682
1826,	20,986	2,411,461	3,657	224,183	24,625	2,635,644
1827,	19,524	2,181,138	3,675	279,362	23,199	2,460,500
1828,	19,646	2,193,300	4,449	324,891	24,095	2,518,191
1829,	19,110	2,199,959	4,343	317,041	23,453	2,517,000
1830,	19,174	2,201,592	4,547	330,227	23,721	2,531,819
1831,	19,450	2,224,356	4,792	357,608	24,242	2,581,964
1832,	19,664	2,261,860	4,771	356,208	24,435	2,618,068
1833,	19,689	2,271,301	4,696	363,276	24,385	2,634,577
1834,	19,975	2,312,355	5,080	403,745	25,055	2,716,100
1835,	20,300	2,360,303	5,211	423,458	25,511	2,783,761
1836,	20,388	2,349,749	5,432	442,897	25,820	2,792,646

—Porter's Progress of the Nation, ii. 171.

APPENDIX E, p. 360.

TABLE showing the amount of Shipping, distinguishing British from Foreign, employed between Great Britain and the under-mentioned countries, from 1821 to 1839 both inclusive.

Years.	Sweden.		Norway.		Denmark.		Prussia.		France.	
	British Tons.	Foreign Tons.	British Tons.	Foreign Tons.	British Tons.	Foreign Tons.	British Tons.	Foreign Tons.	British Tons.	Foreign Tons.
1821,	23,005	8,508	13,855	61,342	5,312	3,969	79,590	37,720	103,837	64,178
1822,	20,799	13,692	13,377	87,974	7,096	3,910	102,847	58,270	101,098	49,727
1823,	20,986	22,529	13,122	117,015	4,413	4,795	81,202	86,013	85,124	49,578
1824,	17,074	40,092	11,419	135,272	6,738	23,689	94,664	151,621	82,650	52,648
1825,	15,906	53,141	14,825	157,910	15,158	50,943	189,214	182,752	78,893	55,539
1826,	11,829	16,939	15,603	90,726	22,800	56,544	119,060	120,589	89,301	57,171
1827,	11,719	21,822	13,945	96,420	10,825	52,456	150,718	109,184	102,879	67,076
1828,	14,877	24,700	10,826	85,771	17,464	49,293	133,753	99,195	102,623	63,302
1829,	16,536	25,046	9,985	86,205	24,576	53,390	125,918	127,861	106,548	59,756
1830,	12,116	23,158	6,459	84,585	12,210	51,420	102,758	139,646	110,766	111,779
1831,	11,450	38,689	4,518	114,865	6,552	62,190	83,908	140,532	97,057	73,159
1832,	8,335	25,755	3,798	82,155	7,268	35,772	62,079	89,187	110,793	63,509
1833	10,009	29,454	5,901	98,931	6,840	38,620	41,735	108,753	103,610	63,662
1834,	15,353	35,910	6,403	98,303	5,691	53,282	32,021	118,111	128,017	74,382
1835,	12,036	35,061	2,592	95,049	6,007	49,008	25,514	124,144	146,607	100,800
1836,	10,865	42,439	1,573	125,875	2,152	51,907	42,567	174,439	198,339	108,352
1837,	7,608	42,602	1,035	88,004	5,357	55,961	67,566	145,742	220,350	131,078
1838,	10,425	38,991	1,364	110,817	3,466	57,554	86,734	175,643	273,446	171,577
1839,	8,359	49,270	2,582	109,228	5,536	106,960	111,470	229,208	312,183	200,228

—Parliamentary Paper, May 28, 1840.

APPENDIX F, p. 361.

TABLE showing the amount of Shipping, distinguishing British from Foreign, employed between Great Britain and the United States of America, from 1821 to 1839 both inclusive.

Years.	British.		Foreign.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
1821,	103	28,411	450	140,776
1822,	138	37,385	500	156,054
1823,	237	63,606	509	165,699
1824,	157	44,994	460	153,475
1825,	133	38,943	599	196,863
1826,	158	47,711	448	151,765
1827,	238	73,204	646	217,535
1828,	256	80,158	372	138,174
1829,	192	61,343	450	162,327
1830,	197	65,130	609	214,166
1831,	289	91,787	639	229,869
1832,	284	95,203	432	167,359
1833,	265	89,923	443	181,874
1834,	281	94,658	492	204,529
1835,	227	82,453	542	236,393
1836,	226	86,383	524	226,483
1837,	209	81,023	602	275,813
1838,	194	83,203	784	357,467
1839,	195	92,482	558	282,005

—Parliamentary Paper, May 28, 1840.

APPENDIX G, p. 365.

TABLE showing the general results of the Reciprocity System on the Trade and Shipping of the United Kingdom, compared with that of the Non-Reciprocity Countries and the British Colonies.

			British.		Foreign.		Exports.
			Ships.	Tons.	Ships	Tons.	£
I. Reciprocity Countries.	1822. Total tonnage and exports to reciprocity countries		3,913	469,726	2708	383,924	18,084,013
	1838.	Do. Do.	5,042	714,884	7044	990,328	21,270,705
II. Non-Reciprocity Count.	1822.	Do. Do.	2,713	407,847	676	82,432	8,355,854
	1838.	Do. Do.	4,715	783,359	1599	217,515	15,101,765
III. British Colonies.	1822.	Do. Do.	4,421	786,613	5	795	10,526,156
	1838.	Do. Do.	6,362	1,287,157	29	2,823	13,689,267

Parliamentary Paper, 27th May 1840.

For the valuable Returns from which the preceding extracts are made, the British public are indebted to the motions of my able and eloquent friend, Mr Colquhoun of Killermont, M. P. for Kilmarnock, to whose exertions in the cause of religion and humanity Scotland and Ireland are already so much indebted.

THE END.

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